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17 March 1983

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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SYRIAN ANTI-AIRCRAFT SYSTEMS ASSESSED

Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR in Hebrew No 29, Oct 82 pp 15-18, 72

[Article by Barak Atkin: "Anti-Aircraft Weapons Booty, Ltd"]

[Text] The planes of the Air Force came out of every battle conducted in the Peace in Galilee Campaign successfully. Not one Syrian plane succeeded in overpowering an Israeli plane and bringing it down. It was the enemy anti-aircraft weapons which brought down planes four times. Anti-aircraft weapons operated by a terrorist force struck a Skyhawk on the first day of the war; anti-aircraft fire brought down a Bell-212 evacuation helicopter and a Cobra combat helicopter; a Syrian SAM-6 missile hit a Phantom which was patrolling over the Beka'a.

Many of the anti-aircraft weapons with which the Syrians and the terrorists opened fire on our planes fell into the hands of the IDF in the course of its advance in Lebanon. The Syrian anti-aircraft system, like those of the other neighboring Arab countries, is very large in relation to their order of forces. Now we have the opportunity of examining up close this anti-aircraft weapons system, to study and learn the principal systems of the weapons. Most of the Syrian weaponry was captured in the Biqa' region, from the Qarun Reservoir and northwards, close to the line of contact which was declared the ceasefire line. The location of the weapons indicates that the Syrians did not rush to abandon their weapons, but that at first they conducted an organized withdrawal, together with the equipment, and only in the last stage of the fighting did they abandon it.

The terrorists' weapons were taken primarily in the sector of the coast, in the cities of Tyre and Sidon, in the area between them and the region of Damur. In recent years, the terrorists in Lebanon had accumulated much anti-aircraft weaponry, in an attempt to defend themselves against strikes by the air force.

Today we possess a lot of anti-aircraft booty: from old artillery of World War II vintage to weapons considered the most modern and best in the Eastern Bloc.

The commander of the School for Anti-Aircraft Weaponry, Col A, says: "The anti-aircraft weaponry which we captured has great importance, for a number of reasons. The first aspect: the captured weapons can strengthen our anti-aircraft system, in quantity and in some cases in quality. In addition, the booty constitutes intelligence material. If we learn the correct lessons from it, we will be able to fight better in the future. The third aspect is logistic. Some of the systems which we captured are now being used by us, such as the 23 mm double barrel. Every shell and every spare part which we "acquired" in the war saves the country money. The captured weapons also have a strong morale aspect. It lowers the morale of the army which we are fighting, and it raises the morale of our army and of the civilian population. The exhibits of captured weapons set up by the Ordinance Corps attracted a large public. The evidence is that it had a positive effect on the morale of the civilians".

Among the anti-aircraft weaponry which was found in the hands of the terrorists, the number of antique weapons found in only a few armies was prominent. These include the 100 mm artillery, of which a few were captured, 40 mm artillery, the L-60 used by the British in World War II, and Yugoslavian 20 mm artillery.

A larger quantity of the 57 mm artillery of the Soviets, once used by the air force, was captured, as well as 14.5 mm artillery produced by the Soviets or the Chinese. The terrorists made heavy use of the 14.5 mm double barrel because of its high rate of fire.

Now for the advanced and more interesting artillery. Of special interest is the 37 mm double barrel. Until the present, we knew of and even had in service the 37 mm single barrel. Many pieces of this type fell into our hands in the Six-Day War and during the Yom Kippur War. Both the Russians and the Chinese took these pieces and made a double barrel piece. The advantage in doubling the barrel is to double the rate of fire, using half the manpower. A number of improvements were made in this weapon, which can be adapted to Israeli anti-aircraft artillery.

Also captured were a number of regular 37 mm single barrel pieces. Even though there is written on the production plate of these pieces the year 1952, the overhaul plate on one of them has the date 1979, indicating an overhaul in that year. Several of these pieces were severely damaged in air force bombings.

The terrorists tended to mount these artillery pieces on various vehicles, especially trucks, disguised in various ways. On one of the pieces which was mounted on a truck there were mounted above the gun iron arcs over which was stretched a net, in which bushes and branches were planted. The result was a mobile and well camouflaged anti-aircraft piece. But if the piece opened fire from beneath its camouflage net, these were only combing shots. The firing was done by visual contact with the target; from behind the net, there was no possibility of aiming the gun at a plane in the sky.

The towed artillery, which was most common and efficient, which we captured in especially large quantities was the 23 mm double barrel. Many 23 mm pieces fell into our hands, with large quantities of ammunition, already during the Yom Kippur War. These weapons were studied at the School for Anti-Aircraft

Weaponry by teams of artillerymen, officers, and teachers, who wrote a professional literature about the piece, and formulated rules for its use and the training for its use. The men in the first course nicknamed the weapon the "toad" because of its peculiar appearance when its wheels were folded alongside. The terrorists used this in an original way, as a towed piece, but there were those who removed the wheels and mounted it on roofs of buildings or on flat bed trucks. This made a compact anti-aircraft piece or great mobility. It has a strong rate of fire of 2000 shells per minute, and does not jam. The effective range of the piece, relative to its bore, is very great — up to 1500 meters. The high rate of fire and the narrow bore create at the time of fire a great muzzle flash. A few of these weapons which we captured in the campaign suffered direct hits by air force bombs, and their aluminum parts were melted by the heat caused by the bombs.

Another modern anti-aircraft weapon which fell into our hands is the anti-aircraft missile operated by one person, known as the Strela. This missile is very similar to the American Red Eye missile, used by the air force. Its use is very simple and it is effective in a range of up to 4 kilometers. The rocket is very mobile and can be carried on the back. The Strela missile is well known to us, and we have even used it in prior wars.

There is no doubt that the most advanced and complex of the captured weapons is the Soviet mobile anti-aircraft ZSU, a 23 mm four barrelled piece, serving as a first line weapon for the Warsaw Pact countries. For the first time, we have the opportunity to study this weapon up close.

There are only two weapons in western countries which parallel it — the mobile German Gephardt, and the American piece known under the name David, which is in the advanced stages of design. The three of them have the ability to operate in three modes: manually, optically, and by radar.

The "Gardish", as the weapon is called by the NATO forces, is an anti-aircraft turret, which includes four guns, a radar system for discovery and fire control, and antennae, mounted on a tank platform of a tank similar to the light patrol tank PT-76. The tracks of the tank give the system high mobility, good ability of passage, and the ability to operate in all types of weather. Although the external appearance is that of a tank, instead of the single barrel, there are four short barrels extending from its forward section. It is operated by a team of four men: a commander, a primary operator, a range operator, and a driver. Its principal role is the defense of infantry, armored infantry, armor, and mobile missile units.

The "Gardish" radar has a perception range of 20 kms, and it is able to open effective fire when the target is at a distance of 2.5 kms. It is equipped with an electro-mechanical analogue computer which plots the point of collision between the shell and the target. It also has a land navigation system, and it can also fire effectively while moving. The gyroscopic system measures the momentary position of the turret, and plots the errors created by movements. Its body is armored to a thickness of 5 to 9 millimeters, which provides protection from light weapons fire and fragments. It is equipped with an internal

communications system (among the team members) and an external communications system, with night vision equipment and telescopes for day, as well as many other systems such as heating and air conditioning, automatic fire control systems, including heat sensors and sprinklers, radiation protection equipment, and anti-chemical and germ warfare equipment. The commander of this weapon can track a second target optically while engaging the first target. The rate of fire is 4000 shells per minute, and it carries 2000 shells in its ammunition magazine, which it can use up in only 25 seconds!

Reminding us that the weapon is from Russia, there is in front of each member of the team thick piping which is heated to the appropriate temperature. It is possible to place one's hands on these to warm them, so that one will be ready at any moment to operate the varied equipment.

A number of Gandish "tanks" were captured by the IDF forces, with their ammunition, which is identical to that of the 23 mm double barrel piece, and with all of the equipment accompanying them — spare parts and working equipment. One of the pieces was shown at an exhibit at a ceremony for awarding pilot's wings on Air Force Day, at a ceremony for promotion of anti-aircraft officers, and the weapon has been shown in movement, with the turret and radar in operation.

The collection of captured weapons in Lebanon has not yet ended. Commanders who tour the field and soldiers in the anti-aircraft system report about the location of anti-aircraft parts, equipment, and guns, to IDF units assigned to evacuate such equipment to booty concentration points in northern Israel. The air force is represented at the concentration point by a team from the Anti-aircraft School.

Sgt Lenni, a member of this team, tells how he came to be involved in this mission:

"I have always been interested in enemy anti-aircraft. I was curious to see how another army operated the weapons. At the beginning of the campaign, I heard reports about the collection of booty at a point in northern Israel, and that the Gandish was included. The Gandish aroused my interest from the first day that I read about it in the professional literature. I had developed a special relationship to it. I went to the concentration point in the north. I did not find the Gandish, but I did find a lot of neglected anti-aircraft equipment. They were being handled there like plain lumps of iron. The army simply did not have the knowledge that is so necessary to it. When the school commander heard about the situation there, he sent out a team to do some basic handling of the equipment — freeing up jammed systems and lubrication, etc."

Lenni began to keep track of the quantity of weapons, their type, and condition, and he even began to learn how to operate the various pieces.

From the condition of the equipment and the sources in which they were found, Lenni succeeded in drawing conclusions about several of the forms of combat of the terrorists and the Syrians. For example, he learned that each organization and group of terrorists had its own private doctrine of combat. Into many pieces, and in particular the 23 mm double barrel, the terrorists introduced all kinds of improvements, and attached to them different objects, from parallel firing to a mount for umbrellas. Lenni says: "Each one took the artillery piece and gave it his own 1982 innovations..."

The 23 mm double barrel piece has an aiming system in which are set regulators, in accordance with range data, the speed of the plane and the direction of the plane. Each terrorist group chose its own speed to regulate the system.

In the same system it is possible to see what was the situation of the plane attacking when the piece was abandoned — if the plane was approaching or moving away. In half of the cases, the system shows that the piece was abandoned when the plane was moving away, i.e. the piece was not under threat. But perhaps these differences can be attributed to the fact that in many cases the guns were operated against land targets and not aerial targets. The guns were found with equipment designed especially for surface targets.

Much of the equipment was found in the packing crates, straight from the factory. These crates do not always reveal their true contents. Some of them have labels claiming that their contents are agricultural machinery. Strela rockets were found in white cases bearing the symbol of the Red Crescent. These crates show the different ways used by the terrorists to obtain their weapons.

The terrorists also had a large quantity of Chinese equipment. Attached to the guns were Chinese warranty certificates. There were also Russian instructions for use and professional literature, some of it translated into English.

A commander at the Anti-aircraft School, Col A., says: "With the Syrians, we found three principal systems. These systems were the double barrel 23 mm, the 37 mm, and the 23 mm ZSU. One could see that they had a tendency to try to unify their systems, similar to the accepted conception in the west today. On the other hand, among the terrorists we found many more antiquated and varied systems. All of this points to the difference between these two armies. The terrorists used anything that came to hand that would fire, and it made no difference to them if it was surface to surface or surface to air".

"In all, there were found among the terrorists 15 different anti-aircraft systems, with eight different calibers, coming from six countries.

"The lack of orderly procedures enabled the terrorists to give much greater expression to their operational flexibility. For example, they took a 37 mm piece, removed it from its carriage, and bolted it to a truck. One is impressed with the low level of sophistication, but also the positive results.

"Here there is also an expression both of the ability to improvise as well as the ability of application at a level which enables proper operation of the weapon. Setting the artillery on a truck increases both its mobility as well as the ability to hide it. They operated the weapons in a rather sophisticated manner: they kept them in garages and shops on the ground floors of buildings. When our forces moved against them, they moved the weapons outside into the street, and fired the anti-aircraft guns, trying to hit the planes, and as soon as the action was over, they moved the guns back into the buildings. Thus they exploited our high degree of sensitivity for the civilian population, and used it as a means of protection from us."

Soviet weapons which were seized enable us to compare it to Western equipment known to us. This is what a commander at the Anti-aircraft School says: "Soviet weaponry is not at all like Western systems. All of their systems operate on a purely mechanical basis. The moving and aiming systems are mechanical, and even the operation of the artillery is mechanical. If we take one of the systems which is parallel to one of ours, such as the 20 mm double barrel turret, here the movement and operation systems of the artillery is electrical, and the aiming system is composed of an optical sight. It is untrue that the Russians do not have complex systems, for we did capture some, such as the ZSU artillery. But even here there are limitations. Although there are some signs of Western electronic sophistication (in my opinion copied from the western systems), they are not truly sophisticated, and are based on obsolete components. The human engineering is not of the best either. In order to operate this system, you have to be enclosed in a narrow combat box which is not ventilated. The living space of the combatant is almost unbearable. The one who mans it is unable to move to the left or the right. The loading system, which moves the shells from the drums to the barrel is most primitive, in comparison to the loading systems of advanced Western systems. The technique is lagging almost a generation behind those of the Europeans and the Americans.

"But all of this is not to completely reject the systems. The barrel system of the 23 mm, for example, is much better than many parallel systems in the West. We have already been using these systems for some time, and if we had additional artillery pieces and ammunition, so much the better. The Strela personal missile, to all opinions, serves at a reasonably high level. In my opinion, it is appropriate for inclusion in our arsenal. We have already used it in the past, and we know it well. In my opinion, the ZSU 23 mm contains enormous potential, and we have to find the correct way to operate it. We must learn in which mode we want to operate it: mobile, or self propelled, as it is built, or stationary? Should we use it in the three parameters which it provides — radar control, optical control, or manual control?

"We are now in a process of testing all of these things and I have no doubt that we must extract the maximum from this equipment.

"To summarize — those systems which, on the basis of the existing deployment today in the air force, can give a quantitative or qualitative supplement, must be put into use. Those which do not meet these two conditions offer nothing. In the mean time we are investing our energy in collecting all of the equipment and giving it basic maintenance".



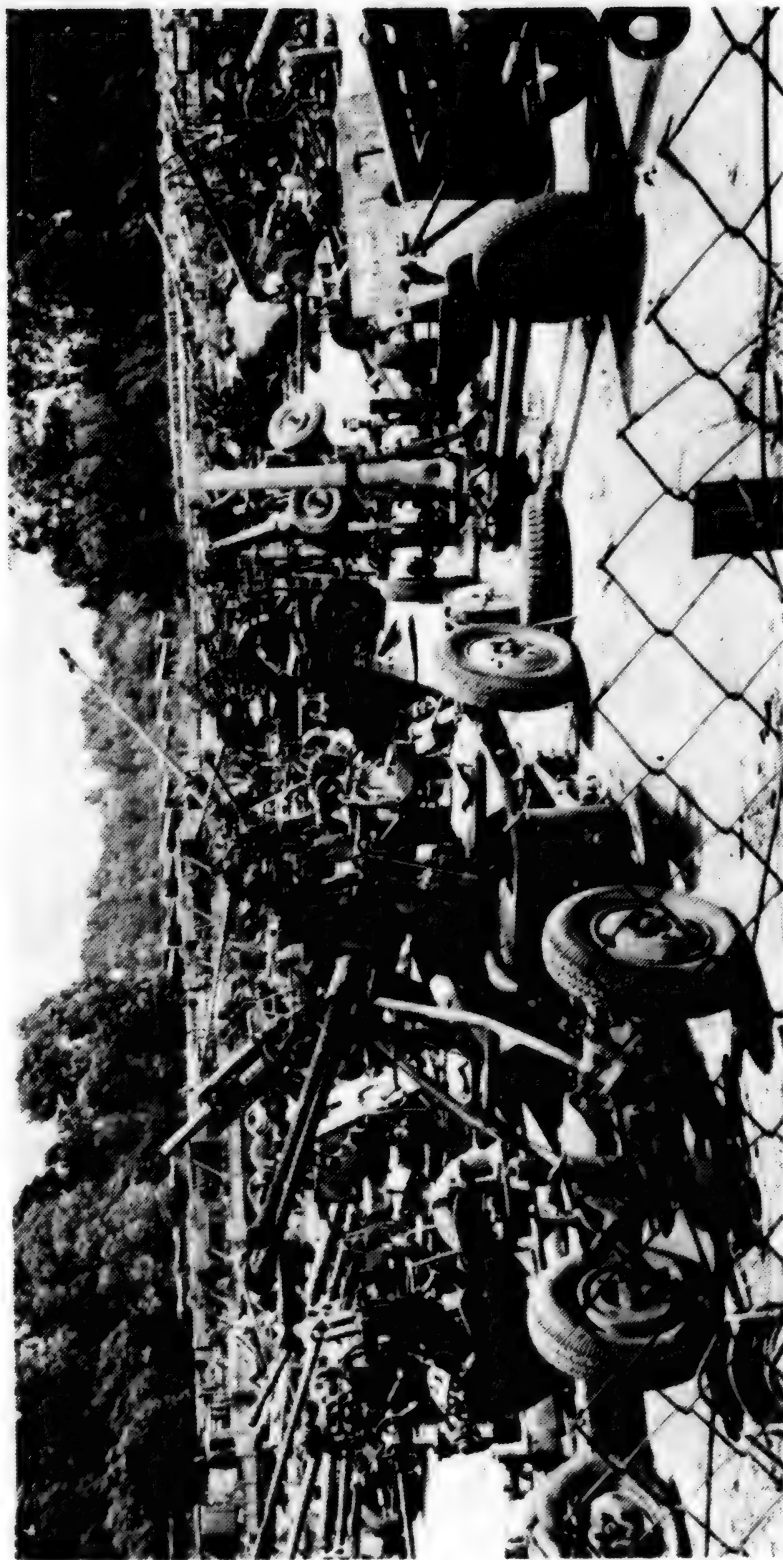
The self-propelled anti-aircraft artillery, 23mm four barrel ZSU at a land presentation in an Air Force demonstration.



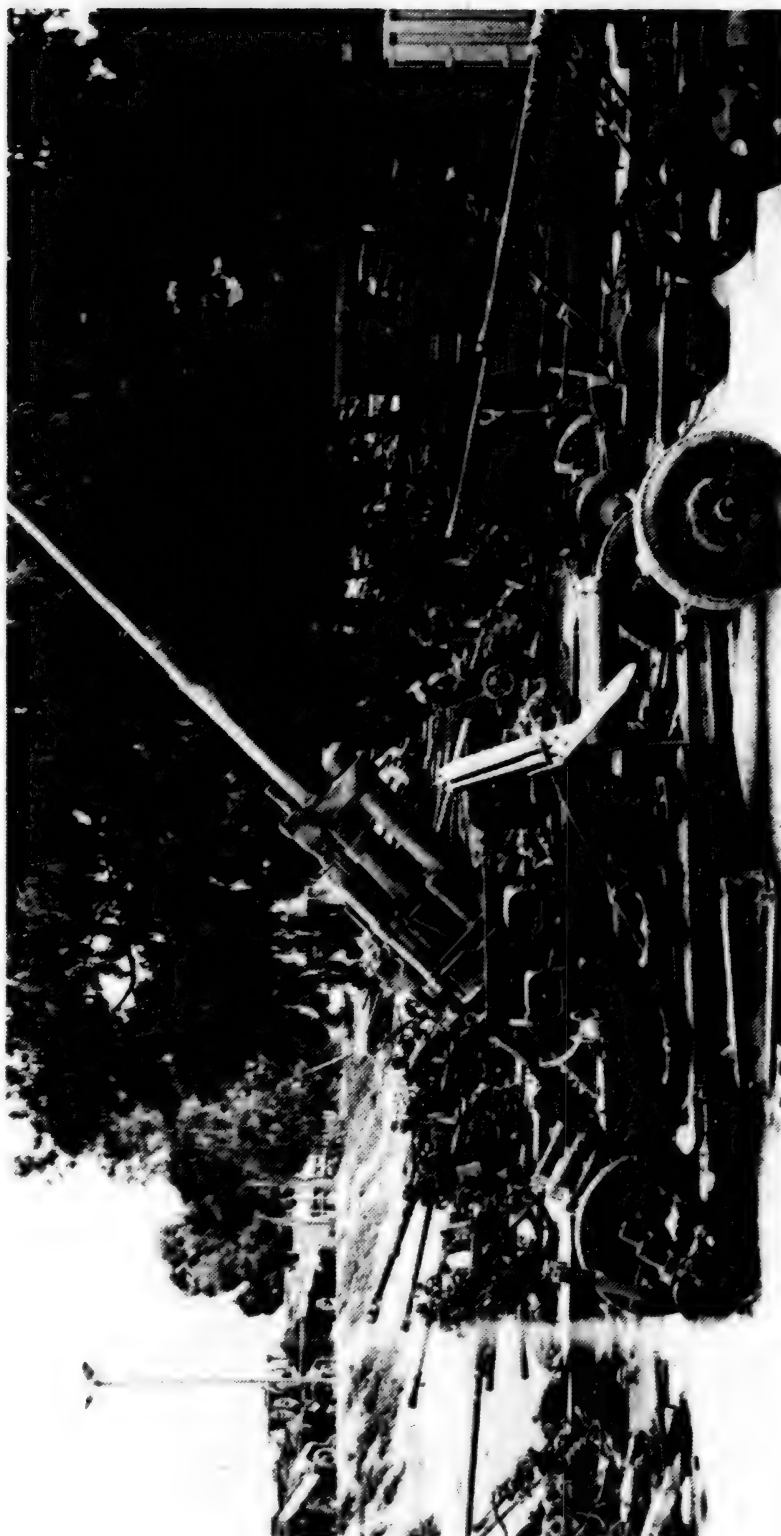
A 14.5mm artillery bolted to a truck and reinforced by welding. In this way, the terrorists tried to increase mobility and concealment.



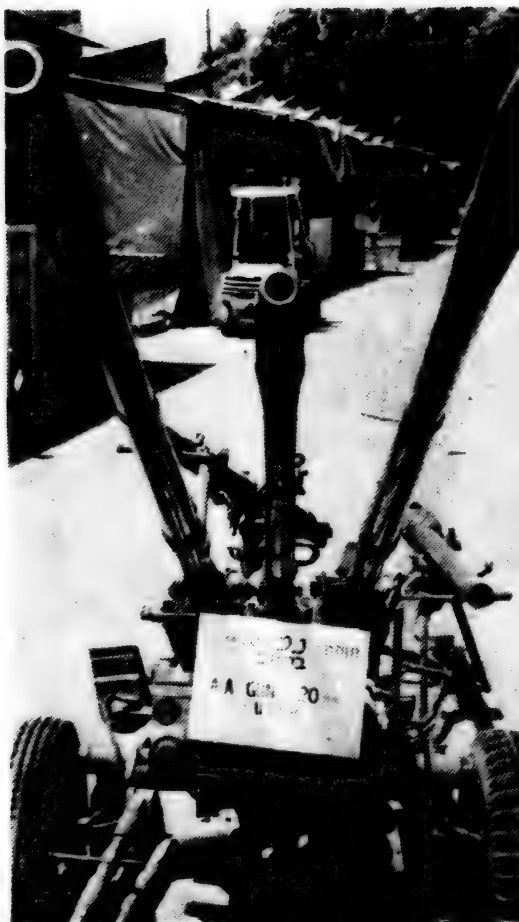
Sgt Lenni in front of a ZSU artillery, on which are draped belts of shells which the Syrians did not have time to fire.



A booty collection point in the north--dozens of anti-aircraft artillery of all types.



A Soviet 100mm artillery piece--a museum piece.



**A 20mm three barrel artillery piece, which was
operated by a terrorist in the Western sector.**

7075
CSO: 4423/61

NABLUS AREA SETTLEMENT EXAMINED

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew 15 Dec 82 pp 6-10,20

[Article by Rafiq Halbi, Aryeh Dayan, and Nahum Barne'a: "On the Way to Shekhem 'Illit"]

[Text] Exactly 7 years ago, in December 1975, Gush Emunim's Elon Moreh nucleus settled in the Sabastiyah railroad station, west of Shekhem [Hebrew name for Nablus]. This was viewed by everyone as an event of great significance. Moshe Simon, one of the key activists in Gush Emunim, says that in Sabastiyah the Judenrein status of Samaria was broken. After the government agreed to settle the members of the nucleus in the Qadumim camp on the Shekhem-Qalqilyah road, the way was opened for the expansion of Jewish settlement in the entire region of Samaria all the way to Shekhem. The then prime minister, Yitzhaq Rabin, who considered the Gush Emunim as a "cancer in the body of the Israeli democracy," was convinced that the Gush's success in Sabastiyah was a Pyrrhic victory. "I found ways to explain to them," Rabin writes in his book "PINKAS SHERUT" [Service Journal], "that every additional attempt on their part to settle without government approval would result in the use of the IDF and that they would be evicted not only from the new place but also from the Qadum camp. They understood."

Didn't they understand? It seems that Rabin did not understand. The Elon Moreh nucleus is the most militant and authoritative of the groups established by the Gush Emunim. Some members of the nucleus settled permanently in Qadumim, and they established it as a flourishing settlement -- each family with its own villa -- and as a center for public information and education on the concepts of the Complete Eretz Israel. Others continued to struggle to populate the Shekhem region with Jews. In the first 2 years of the Likud administration, they again settled, in opposition to the decisions of the government, on the barren hill above the village of Rujayb, southeast of Shekhem. The IDF again brought them down from there with force until they found another place, in Jabal al-Kabir, east of Shekhem. There are about 80 families living today in prefabricated buildings in Elon Moreh. Nearby, undergoing construction are permanent buildings in the typical format for settlement in the territories: religious institutions, family homes, and a fence. On Mount Gerizim, south of Shekhem, there is a Nahal settlement called Brekha [or "Brakha"]. The settlement will soon be civilianized and replaced by a Gush Emunim nucleus. Mount Gerizim is the future location of a large urban municipality which will overlook Shekhem from above. For this purpose, 3,800 dunams have already been taken. This will be Qiryat Shekhem or Shekhem 'Illit, and it is intended to

fulfill the same function toward the Arab city that Qiryat Arba does toward Hebron and Nazerat 'Illit toward Nazerat. Lands have already been concentrated in the Rujayb region from which the Elon Moreh nucleus was evicted by order of the Supreme Court in 1979. A settlement will soon be established on the hill which was abandoned above the military base. About 1,000 dunams have been closed by the IDF northwest of Shekhem, and additional areas on Jabal Salman, southwest of the city. Tzvi Slonim, head of the Eretz Israel Academy in Qadumim, says that the fund for redeeming the land, the center of which is in Qadumim, has already purchased about 20,000 dunams of private land in all of Samaria except for the rocky ground which, on the basis of legal interpretation, has become land suitable for Jewish settlement.

Within Shekhem there are the first signs of the same process that has taken place in recent years in Hebron. In Joseph's Tomb, a site holy to Jews, Muslims, and Christians, a yeshiva called "'Od Yosef Hay' [Joseph Still Lives], has been established. Thirty yeshiva students come every morning and return every night to sleep in Elon Moreh. IDF soldiers protect them. The mats used by the Muslims for prayer have been removed from the floor of the central hall. They are stacked in a pile in the corner of the hall. The yeshiva students have hung a sign with Biblical verses on the wall. Hayim Pereg, a resident of Elon Moreh and the director of the 'Od Yosef Hay yeshiva, says that any Arab who wants to can come and pray. The Arabs have remained outside.

Some of the students are from the Merkaz Harav yeshiva in Jerusalem. Others come from the hesder yeshiva in Qiryat Arba, one of the extremist strongholds of the young settlers, and from Elon Moreh. When the atmosphere becomes tense, they have street battles with the students of the schools adjacent to Joseph's Tomb: Qadri Tuqan and Haj Ma'azuz al-Masri. The Qadri Tuqan school adjoins the tomb and it is difficult to prevent friction. When the stones fly, the soldiers call for reinforcements from the administration border guard. The border guard personnel manage to restore calm.

An entity in Qadumim oversees the purchase of houses within Shekhem. As in the purchase of private lands, in the purchase of houses there is also a great effort made to maintain a low profile in this activity.

Had Rabbi Levinger been residing in Elon Moreh, there would have long ago been a large Jewish settlement in Shekhem. It is almost certain that there would also have been confrontations between Jews and Arabs and a political storm would have attracted international attention. In Samaria, however, matters are handled in the Katzover, and not the Levinger, style. Actions are taken gradually and thoughtfully. They concentrate forces, and they prefer quiet pressure and the establishment of facts in the area, in a virtually military manner, to a stormy and open political struggle. Most of the Gush Emunim people who were interviewed for this article were unwilling to speak about the process of making Shekhem Jewish. "We do not want to play up this issue at this time," one of them said. The political preparatory work has not yet been completed. Most of the ministers are unaware of what is happening in the Shekhem region. The practical preparations have also not been completed -- lands are still being concentrated and acquired and complaints are pending in the court.

Arabic Shekhem: The capital of Samaria, the most important political center of the West Bank, and the largest Arab city under Israeli control. It has about 80,000 permanent residents and 2 refugee camps adjoining the city -- Balatah and 'Askar. It has a long history of aspirations for independence, of extremist activity, of bitterness. It is an island of self-confidence against every foreign occupier. If you were to ask the Arabs of Israel which cities they prefer, they would concede all the cities of Trans-Jordan and they would not concede Shekhem, said Jabotinsky. Shekhem is the center of their nationalism. The geographic conditions strengthen their feeling of independence.

Shekhem sits in a closed valley between Mount Gerizim, the mountain of the blessing and Har 'Eival, the mountain of the curse. The American writer, Mark Twain, who visited the country 115 years ago, described it as a "narrow valley, well-cultivated, with dark and very fertile soil, abundant water, and rich vegetation which stands out sharply against the bare hills rising above it on either side." In the years since then, the lower slopes of the hills have been filled with houses, including multi-storied ones. The main development of the city took place during the period of Jordanian rule when 'Abdallah and afterward Husayn tried to strengthen Shekhem as a counterweight against the anti-Hashemite strongholds in East Jerusalem. The Tuqan and Shak'a families were considered to be bitter adversaries of the strong Jerusalemite families, the Nashashibis and the Husaynis.

The change occurred after the rise of the Fatah in 1964. Shekhem gradually resumed its role as the flag bearer in the Palestinian struggle against the regime in 'Amman. In those years they called it the "mountain of fire," Jabal al-Nar.

All of the Palestinian political parties were active in the city during the Jordanian period. The Communist Party and the nationalist Qawmiyun al-'Arab functioned in the underground. The nationalists supported Nasir and George Habash.

A nucleus of the Syrian Ba'ath is active in Shekhem. The deposed mayor, Bassam Shak'a, played a key role in it. The al-Masri family is considered a faithful supporter of King Husayn. There is also in the city a group which supports the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Jews have never succeeded in establishing a large settlement in the city of Shekhem. During the Arab and Crusader periods there were no Jews there. It was only after the destruction of Jerusalem that several Jews carrying Torah scrolls fled to the city. Rabbi Yehuda Schwartz in his book "Tevu'ot Ha'aretz" [Produce of the Land] (1842) estimated the number of Jews in Shekhem at 20. In approximately that same period Montefiore estimated their number at 75. The Jewish settlement in Shekhem did not resume until the end of the Turkish rule of the country.

For years Hebron has been the symbol of hatred of Israel, primarily because of the massacre of the Jews of the city in the 5689 [1929] pogroms and because of the behavior of the Arab population right before the fall of Gush Etzion. Despite the extremist viewpoints which dominated Shekhem, it was not a focal point for the feeling of "settling accounts" on the part of the Israelis. In 1967 the city was occupied with virtually no losses. The local population mistakenly thought that the force entering the city was Iraqi reinforcements and not the IDF. The mayor, Hamdi Kana'an, had frequent conversations with Moshe Dayan during the first stages

of the occupation. There was a significant effort for mutual understanding, albeit not for agreement. The poetess Fadu'a Tuqan, who described how she chewed on the livers of IDF soldiers, met with Dayan and with a no less fiery woman, Geula Cohen. There were demonstrations, strikes, and acts of sabotage. At the same time, there were talks. During the first years it seemed that Shekhem was outside the sphere of aspirations of the Israelis, even those Israelis who worked for the establishment of settlements in other areas of the West Bank such as Gush Etzion, Hebron, and the Jerusalem region.

It has only been recently, in the context of actions by the government against the local leadership in Shekhem, that the city has had a mayor appointed by the State of Israel. The current mayor is Jabar Hinu, a young Druse from the village of Julis.

Bassam Shak'a was the last man to become mayor after elections. For a long time Shak'a was a living symbol of the struggle of the West Bank population against Israel. A month ago Shak'a underwent an operation and went to live with his brother. Since then, the border guard jeep which was assigned to protect him was removed from in front of his house, and at the same time he was, in actuality, placed under house arrest. A KOTERET RASHIT reporter asked for Shak'a's reaction to the settlement activities in the Shekhem region.

"The settlement policy is not being carried out for military purposes," Shak'a said. "It is a Zionist ideology. Israel is trying to create facts in the territory at a time when the world is considering a solution to the Palestinian problem. It was the same thing after Camp David.

"The Jewish settlement in Samaria is making life difficult for us, and it is intended to bring about our emigration. There are pressures and terror for the purpose of stealing the land. These actions will not go without a reaction. They are a threat to security. Initially, Israel neglected Shekhem. Today we have top priority." Shak'a claims that the settlers are working together with the army in police functions. "This will certainly lead to a policy of Apartheid," Shak'a said.

There is a tour of those directing the settlement in the Shekhem area. Members of the tour group are Minister Yuval Ne'eman, MK Hanan Porat, Benny Katzover, Avi Parhan, who was one of the leaders of the movement to stop the withdrawal in Yamit and is today Minister Ne'eman's spokesman and aide, and others. A new road, part of which traverses private lands, extends for 30 km from the Ramallah-Shekhem road to the Nahal settlement of Brekha on Mount Gerizim. "It's a pity that the settlement does not overlook Shekhem," Hanan Porat says sadly. Porat looks toward Jabai Salman west of Mount Gerizim and spreads a map: "There will also be a settlement there," he says. In the meantime, they have paved a road there and have settled the army there.

Benny Katzover is worried about the possibility that the settlement activity in Shekhem will arouse press interest. "It has been good for the last 2 years that the reporters have not come here," Katzover said. The reporters cause trouble." Katzover emphasizes that the relations between the Arabs of Shekhem and the settlers are different from what is reported in the press. After an Elon Moreh

settler was attacked in Shekhem, a distinguished delegation came to apologize. "We have good relations and peaceful coexistence," Katzover said. "Even the military administration is astounded."

"Aren't you amazed at the sight of the Jewish settlement in the region?" asks Hanan Porat. "Shekhem will be a success like Nazerat. There there is Nazerat 'Illit, and here there will be a Shekhem 'Illit."

As has happened in many previous settlement projects, this time also the members of the cabinet are the last ones to be told what will happen. The relations between the present government and the Gush Emunim can be compared to a pair of feet. When the right foot takes a step forward, the left foot is sooner or later forced to follow it lest you fall. "The Gush Emunim," says Tzvi Slonim of the Qadumim Academy, "was always the instrument for activating the government."

A KOTERET RASHIT reporter asked Ministers Ehrlich, Levi, Tzippori, and Moda'i and Deputy Minister Deqel what their position was on settlement in Shekhem. Tzippori, who had opposed settlement in Shekhem in the past, said that he knows of no new plans. David Levi also did not know of any. Ehrlich, as the minister of agriculture theoretically responsible for settlements in the territories (even though he actually lacks influence), expressed opposition to the civilianization of the Nahal settlement on Mount Gerizim. His deputy Mikha'el Deqel, said: "The more Jewish lights in Judea and Samaria the more this will gladden the heart." As of now the settlement policy is not directed to the Shekhem area, Deqel said. "In value terms, we have a right to settle in Shekhem, but tactically, we are not yet involved in it."

Minister Moda'i said that he is opposed to a Jewish center in Shekhem because there is a large Arab center there. "Why should we go to the most difficult place where we can encounter the severest opposition? There is sufficient land in Judea and Samaria, and we have the possibility of tripling the population to 100,000 settlers. So why should we look for trouble?"

If anyone seriously believes that it is still possible to reach a territorial compromise which will divide the territory of the West Bank between Jews and Arabs, the populating of the Shekhem area must give that belief a mortal blow. This is the greatest success of the Gush Emunim, and perhaps also its last success because after Shekhem it will be difficult to mobilize the same enthusiasm for public interest in a Janin 'Illit or a Qiryat Tubas (all the other cities in the West Bank are already surrounded by Jewish municipalities). Most of the founding generation of Gush Emunim are in their forties. Behind them are 10 years of arduous struggle. After Shekhem it will be expected that they will concentrate on the political struggle for the West Bank -- to prevent autonomy, to prevent Jordanian influence, and to prevent legislation which would grant the local population real rights. It will be expected that they will establish the settlements as an economic and political force equivalent to the Kibbutz movement.

If they want to continue to struggle for settlement, they will have to seek territories beyond the existing borders -- in Lebanon, Sinai, and in Gilead. The other dreams have been realized. There is, therefore, something final in making Shekhem Jewish.

Vaduz in Samaria

Is it possible to register Israeli companies with the registrar of companies in Shekhem and to be exempt from the payment of taxes? Discussions of this arranged by KOTERET RASHIT reporters with jurists show that the idea is not strange to them.

Is it possible in practice to make Shekhem a tax shelter?

Jerusalem lawyer Ze'ev Weil says: "I know that there are cases in which Israeli companies have been registered with the registrar of companies in Shekhem or Ramallah. I do not know which companies are involved. I am not dealing with this matter because in my opinion, it is morally wrong. The economic significance of the registration is very simple. According to Jordanian law, which is applicable in the territories, a company registered there pays taxes at a rate of 5 to 10 percent of what is customary in Israel."

MK Yiga'el Cohen-Orgad, an economic entrepreneur in the territories, says: "I know that tax advisers suggest to their clients the possibility of registering as a company in one of the cities of the West Bank in order to be virtually completely exempt from taxes. It seems to me, I am not certain, that the issue was tested in court in Hebron and failed. I do not offer this possibility to potential investors. Even in simple financial terms, I am not sure that it is worthwhile. The Jordanian law will exempt the investor from most of the tax, but it will not grant him benefits as a certified enterprise."

Prof Aharon Yoran, a tax expert, says: "To the best of my understanding, the company's place of registration does not change the total tax. It is possible that there is some loophole in the law that I am not aware of."

We posed the same questions to a senior officer in the Civilian Administration. He responded that there is indeed a loophole, and it does not stem from a legal flaw but from the helplessness of the tax authorities. He estimates that there are about 50 Israeli companies that are registered with the registrar of companies in Shekhem and Ramallah. The personnel of the tax authorities are not careful about checking on these companies, and in this way, they can actually save on the payment of taxes. According to him, the administration officers know about this loophole, and some of them who are separated from the service and open businesses in the territories are quick to register with the registrar of companies.

[Map on following page]



Key:

1. Legend
2. Existing Jewish settlement
3. Planned Jewish settlement
4. Lands closed or in planning
5. Gush Tirtzah
6. Shekhem
7. The new Elon Moreh
8. Joseph's Tomb
9. Elon Moreh Gimel
10. Elon Moreh Bet
11. Elon Moreh Dalet
12. Brekha [or "Brakha"] (Nahal Settlement)
13. Shekhem 'Illit

5830

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ISRAEL

BRIEFS

WORKFORCE FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES--The number of residents from the territories employed in Israel increased to 78,200 in 1982 as compared to 75,000 in 1981. The workers from the territories now constitute about 34 percent of the total number of persons employed in the construction field in Israel, about 13 percent of those employed in farming, and about 4.5 percent of those employed in industry. The administered territories now provide 5.7 percent of the total workforce in Israel. The source of this information is the Manpower Planning Authority of the Ministry of Labor and Social Betterment. During 1982 the unemployment rate in Israel did not change, and it remains at 5 percent of the total civilian manpower in the economy. [By Yisrael Tomer] [Text] [Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 5 Jan 83 p 4] 5830

GALILEE SETTLEMENT--A plan for the settlement of the Galilee, with the same format and scope of the one now being implemented in Judea and Samaria, has been formulated in the Ministry of Agriculture. Its details are now being worked out in anticipation of its implementation in the near future. The plan concerns western and central Galilee, and according to it, about 15,000 people will be settled in new settlements during the next 3 to 4 years. Settlement nuclei, comprising a total of about 3,000 people, have already been organized in the Haifa region in order for them to move to the new settlements. According to the plan, 200 families will settle in each of the settlements which will be community ones. In the first stage, most of the settlers will work in their current places of employment in the northern and central parts of the country, and in the course of time, industrial enterprises will be established in the settlements themselves. The Israel Lands Administration has already located suitable sites for the establishment of the settlements, and the location plan will soon be submitted to the cabinet. The plan will be implemented by the Jewish Agency (Settlement Department) and the Ministry of Construction and Housing. [By Yosef Waxman] [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 23 Dec 82 p 2] 5830

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KUWAITI VICE PREMIER GRANTS INTERVIEW TO 'TANJUG'

AU231235 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 83 p 6

[Report on TANJUG interview with Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, Kuwaiti deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, granted in connection with the upcoming nonaligned summit meeting in New Delhi--no place or date given]

[Text] Kuwait, 17 Feb (TANJUG)--Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, Kuwaiti deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, has said in an interview with TANJUG that the forthcoming conference of the heads of states or governments of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi has "a very important task--to examine the ways with which it would be possible to overcome or at least alleviate the present international tension which complicates the world situation and which could ignite a war of wide proportions."

Having recalled that the nonaligned movement basically originated as an expression of the need to overcome the tension in the world resulting from a confrontation between the superpowers which has led to a division of the world and the creation of blocs, Sheikh al-Sabah said: "I believe that the main causes of crises, division and troubles in the world lie in a shaken belief in justice; in the fact that the basic needs of peoples are not met; in a shortage of the means which would make it possible for an individual to be happy in his society; and in the attacks on the interests of peoples in order to satisfy certain aspirations which only lead to greater complications and to the opening of doors to interventions and interference in the affairs of small countries by those who strive toward hegemony."

The Kuwaiti deputy prime minister expressed hope that the participants of the summit meeting in New Delhi "will operate in this tense and complex situation in accordance with the noble goals which were behind the creation of the nonaligned movement." "I am convinced," he added, "that many members of the nonaligned movement have a sober mind and ideas to make the summit successful."

In his view, the nonaligned movement is capable of acting with good will and resoluteness, in such a way as to "become an effective force which will impose itself on countries throughout the world and to become the real consciousness of mankind in strengthening its noble goals of respecting the rights of others and of noninterfering in their affairs."

Sheikh al-Sabah believes that the nonaligned movement must work toward restraining those countries "which violate human rights, ignore UN resolutions, mutilate the face of justice and falsify facts and history so that they only serve their interests and are detrimental to the interests of other peoples."

In view of the enormous importance of the problem, Kuwait expects that the economic relations in the world will be given priority at the New Delhi summit meeting. "Economic relations in the world," Sheikh al-Sabah said, "must be based on justice in the full sense of the word. To achieve this noble goal, it is necessary to invite qualified economic experts to work out several studies and to submit suggestions which could lead to establishing an effective world economic system."

Stressing that the disputes and armed conflicts between certain nonaligned countries are "a very serious phenomenon which could weaken solidarity within our movement," the Kuwaiti deputy prime minister proposed that a "strong commission be set up which should work on solving disputes and any disagreements which might arise among the member countries of our movement." Within this context, he particularly pointed to the need to end the Iraqi-Iranian war.

Sheikh al-Sabah believes that the struggle to strengthen world peace must be the priority of the nonaligned movement, "for peace means security and stability which will lead to development, progress and prosperity. A great gap now exists between peace and the absence of peace. Solving problems on the basis of injustice is contrary to peace. Peace which we advocate is based on justice and the nonuse of force."

Assessing the Middle East situation, the Kuwaiti foreign minister pointed to the interdependence in the world and to the fact that what is happening in one part of the world cannot but influence the situation in other areas. "For instance," he remarked, "what Israel is doing has a direct influence on our region. For this reason we must concentrate on overcoming everything that threatens our region. The creation of the council for cooperation of the Gulf countries within the Arab League is part of our interest in uniting efforts to avoid any outside interference and to reject any aggression."

According to the Kuwaiti deputy prime minister, "the bilateral cooperation between our two countries is well established." "The development of this cooperation is being realized through regular mutual talks. For this reason these meetings on various economic and cultural levels must continue to be maintained," Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah said in conclusion.

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EFFORTS BY AL-JUMAYYIL TO GAIN CONSENSUS DESCRIBED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 307, 8 Jan 83 pp 26-27

[Article by Ghassan Bayram: "The Government Calls On Lebanese Leaders To Eliminate the Sectarian "Panic"]

[Text] The state has entered into negotiations with Israel with national approval. What is needed is a Moslem decision to negotiate with Israel, and a Christian decision to negotiate with Syria and the Palestinians.

President Amin al-Jumayyil conducted a comprehensive assessment of the Lebanese situation with several of his special advisors after the official decision was reached to open negotiations on the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon on Tuesday, 28 December 1982.

The natural lead-in to the assessment was the sectarian fighting that is going on in the districts of 'Aliyah and al-Shuf in the Mountain, and the grave dimensions the continuation of this sort of fighting began to assume in the shadow of the Israeli occupation in that region.

One of the advisors told President al-Jumayyil: "The greatest fear—the greatest danger—is that this sectarian strife will continue to flare even after the departure of the Israeli element and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from these areas of tension and fighting. The activity will then appear to the world as a problem of Lebanese against Lebanese, and no effort will be made to see whether any foreign or external element or elements are still trying to fan the flames of this fire to keep it burning."

The president did not hide the fact that he was basically extremely apprehensive about this grave possibility with all its complexities and repercussions for Lebanon in general, and for Lebanon's future.

In his private meetings with the various political and religious leaders closely or indirectly involved with the war in the Mountain President al-Jumayyil apprised them of these fears. He asked them to assume the role that was required of them to curb the complications of this absolutely unjustified sectarian strife at a time when Lebanon was preparing to enter into negotiations over withdrawal with a vicious enemy who holds Lebanese territory, and whose presence holds many possibilities for stirring up sectarian strife, triggering Lebanese antagonisms and playing on sectarian sensitivities.

It has become obvious that the outbreak of the Mountain war between the Druze and the Maronites on the eve of the president's return from his trip to the United States and Europe, and its continuation in the form that it took, was actually a real overflow through which Israel was able to apply maximum pressure on the legitimate Lebanese authorities to set another national goal before them, which requires speedy negotiations. This goal is to act quickly to contain the dangerous complications of this kind of sectarian fighting in the Mountain which threatens the Lebanese formula for sectarian coexistence and opens more than one door to partition projects and the establishment of "cantons" which everybody is talking about. This is in addition to the first and foremost national goal, liberating the land from Israeli occupation.

Israel has undoubtedly planned to use the Mountain war as the fatal weakness that will drag the Lebanese government to the negotiating table, while it is in a state of submission, and make it prepared to accept, although unwillingly, the demands of the Israeli negotiator.

During the period prior to the beginning of negotiations more than one political and religious leader participated at various levels in stopping this fighting which since it began has been clearly marked by sectarianism, and has continued in that way, despite the initiatives made by the president with the Druze and Maronite political and military leaders concerned with the situation in the Mountain and the circumstances of its inhabitants.

In connection with these Lebanese efforts the United States is reported to have made attempts on more than one occasion to ease the tension in the Mountain and prevent any escalation of the situation's dangers and complications in Lebanon. Prominent ministers in the Lebanese government say that Washington is clearly concerned about the dangers of continuing this unjustified fighting in Lebanon, and has expressed this through its envoys and embassy in Beirut. The chief envoy, Ambassador Philip Habib, conveyed to the leaders concerned with the situation in the Mountain his country's displeasure with the situation, emphasizing to them that to continue this dangerous game would result in disastrous consequences.

Well-known leaders realize that the American envoy was clearly telling those concerned with the matter that his country will not tolerate any activities designed to destroy the unity of Lebanon and cause it to be partitioned.

According to Lebanese sources in touch with American envoys, Washington has drawn the line with regard to the presence of its forces participating in the multinational force in the al-Awza'i district and the areas surrounding the Beirut airport, as well as their battleships that are concentrated in Lebanese waters along the coast of al-Awza'i up to the district of Khaldah. It has drawn the line against any attempt—Israeli or Lebanese—to draw the fighting to the capital, Beirut, particularly in view of the fact that much information has confirmed the existence of attempts to again embroil the capital in this kind of fighting and carry the Mountain war to Beirut.

Although all these Lebanese efforts and the limited U.S. intervention have failed to stop the fighting in the Mountain, they have nevertheless achieved some partial successes, most notably the following:

1. The fighting has been confined to the areas where it began, namely, in the specific neighborhoods and villages in al-Shuf and 'Aliyah in the Mountain. It has not been allowed to spread to neighboring areas.
2. All efforts designed to give this fighting a general sectarian flavor--that is, Moslem versus Christian--have been thwarted when the other Moslem groups refused to get embroiled in the fighting. This allowed the activity to remain confined within a Druze-Maronite framework.
3. Facts about the Israeli role in instigating and triggering the fighting have been revealed. Lebanese, Arab and international public opinion has been made aware of the goals behind the actions taken to stir up war in the Mountain.

All of these elements were big advantages the government was able to use in the national decision to enter into negotiations with Israel, along with the U.S. participant. The fundamental principles demand an end to the occupation, achievement of a unified program for withdrawal and rejection of the logic of submission or surrender to Israel's demands and claims in Lebanon.

President Amin al-Jumayyil was successful to a great extent in forming and holding this Lebanese national decision despite all the difficult circumstances with which Lebanon is still struggling: discord, upheavals, pressure and sectarian divisions. Lebanon has seen, and is still witnessing, many attempts to convert them into sectarian and religious struggles. It can really be imagined to more closely resemble the "panic" phenomenon that appeared in a Lebanese district. This is a kind of suicide or mutual suicide if the expression is correct.

A sense of "panic" began to take shape in a district of Kasrawan and the northern area after several victims were found in a forest. When that happened, it was easy for the Lebanese forces to pursue this pathological symptom, destroy it, and inflict the most extreme punishments on the young men and women who were behind that incident.

But the task of President Amin al-Jumayyil in eliminating this "panic" that exists in each of the principal Lebanese factional groups, particularly the Christian and Moslem ones, and the government's success in the coming phase in reconstituting the Lebanese formula for unified coexistence depend to a great extent on its prior success in eliminating pathological, destructive symptoms such as these from which every group and every religious faction of which Lebanese society is composed suffers. These are symptoms which have almost transformed the Lebanese factions into warring tribes in every sense of the word.

The government has decided to carry out an integrated plan to cure these pathological symptoms in the period following the end of the occupation, when the withdrawals have been completed. President Amin al-Jumayyil wants to acquaint all the influential political and religious leaders with his ideas about the plan he has decided to carry out to lay the foundations for an internal political solution to the Lebanese crisis.

In his concept of the plan President al-Jumayyil has no intention of involving foreign non-Lebanese forces to help implement it. That is because he believes that the Lebanese must come to understand the facts about their national and social situation, and in light of this understanding they must actually participate in eliminating those pathological symptoms that have through years of tribulation become rooted in the heart of Lebanese society and most of which are only residues of the past.

The Lebanese president has been compelled to seek the help of the United States, Europe and other Arab countries to end the Israeli occupation and any other non-Lebanese military presence on Lebanese soil. But all of this foreign assistance would not have enabled the government to enter into negotiations on withdrawal if it had not been successful in achieving Lebanese agreement on the necessity of the negotiations for ending the occupation and regaining national sovereignty.

When the president invited former prime ministers to his palace and consulted with each of them alone (in the presence of Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan) about the negotiations with Israel and the foundations of the Lebanese positions in these negotiations as he saw them, each one knew that President Amin al-Jumayyil's goals were the following:

1. The state needs a decision by the Sunni Moslem leaders to Lebanon authorizing him—a Maronite Christian—and his Sunni Moslem prime minister to enter into the negotiations with Israel. This Sunni Islamic approval not only makes the unity of the national political position complete, but also strengthens Lebanon's position in the Arab World in view of the pan-Arab dimensions of the Lebanese Moslem position.
2. The president limited his consultation to the Sunni leaders only because the matter of the negotiations had already been settled with the other Lebanese factions.
3. This is the most important matter. The country's Maronite Christian president had wanted to enter into negotiations with a Moslem political decision of support because assuring the well-being of the domestic front in such a decisive, intricate and serious matter required that the Lebanese Moslems above all agree to the limits to which he could go with Israel and the quantity and quality of concessions the Lebanese state can give to Israel in exchange for its withdrawal from Lebanon. This is with the understanding that the Christian—specifically, Maronite—Lebanese make a decision to negotiate with the Arab side currently represented by Syria and the PLO, and

determine the kind and form of security guarantees that must be given to Arab Syria to guarantee its security and to achieve stable, cooperative and neighborly relations between it and Lebanon.

It was noticed in this connection that when the president was guaranteed a national decision on the negotiations with Israel on withdrawal, and the time and place of the negotiations were set, he sent a Maronite Christian, Jean 'Ubayd, as a personal envoy to Damascus where he met President Hafiz al-Asad. From there he went to Tunis to meet the chairman of the PLO, Mr Yasir 'Arafat, to discuss arrangements for ending the Syrian military role in Lebanon and the departure of the remaining forces of the Palestinian revolution in al-Biqa' and the north.

Despite warnings about the isolation of the president in this initiative, President al-Jumayyil nevertheless wanted it to distinguish between what is Arab and what is Israeli, and between the Israeli military occupation of Lebanon and the Syrian and Palestinian military presence. This distinction was necessary because equating them is rejected by Lebanon and the other Arab countries, and even by some other countries.

These enormous differences can be perceived in Lebanon's confidence in the ease with which an agreement to end the Syrian and Palestinian military presence in al-Biqa' and the north can be reached. The difficulties and troubles still plaguing Lebanon have been overcome with regard to ending the Israeli occupation of Lebanese territory and its consequent exposure to attempts at pressure and robbery in the course of the efforts to achieve total Israeli withdrawal from Lebanese territory.

9123

CSO: 4404/189

MANPOWER PROJECTS DISCUSSED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 296, 3-9 Jan 83 pp 46-47

[Article: "The Director of the ILO Office in Beirut: '5 Fundamental Subjects Have Been Studied by an ILO Mission Dealing With Employment, Manpower and Vocational Training'"]

[Text] The projects and the recommendations will be presented during the current month. Financing will be guaranteed by international organizations and various countries.

During the second half of this month an ILO delegation consisting of six experts, headed by the director of the organization's department of training, George Qanawati, visited Beirut. The delegation was acting on a request by the minister of labor and social affairs to prepare studies on employment, manpower, rapid vocational training, vocational health and safety, and the modernization of the Ministry of Labor, particularly with regard to automating the operations of the office of foreign labor.

During its visit the mission completed draft proposals which included recommendations on the subjects which were studied. These proposals will be submitted to Lebanese officials either through the ILO office in Beirut or when the members of the delegation return individually to Beirut this month to submit the recommendations and investigate ways to implement them with the parties involved.

AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI spoke with the director of the ILO office in Lebanon, Dr Shukri al-Dujjani, on the delegation's accomplishments. He said, "The delegation came to Lebanon on the basis of a request delivered by the minister of labor and social affairs, Dr 'Adnan Murawwah, to the director of the ILO office in Geneva, Francis Blanchard, by the director general of the Ministry of Labor, Hamdi Khuri, and the secretary of the Association of Lebanese Industrialists, Marwan Nasr, who were acting as official messengers."

He added, "The delegation focused its activity on several important subjects with which Lebanon is having true difficulties which must be cured, the most prominent of which are employment manpower, vocational training, vocational health and safety and the reorganization of the Ministry of Labor. Each of the members of the delegation was an expert in one of these fields. They produced the following preliminary recommendations:

"1. Vocational training: The delegation drew up a draft proposal which it will submit to the ministry in which it proposes the establishment of vocational training centers and expanding some of the centers to create room for a skilled labor force capable of meeting urgent requirements. The project concentrates on two principal centers. The first is the al-Dakwanah Center which can graduate classes of trained individuals in the quickest time possible, on the basis of current priorities and at the least possible cost. The second center is the al-Qalamun Center the establishment of which is being seriously considered, and which will concentrate on vocational training at various levels and for longer periods.

"The plan links the successful operation of these two centers, so that a comprehensive plan for vocational training in Lebanon can be produced. It concentrates basically on the required priorities, particularly training in the various construction trades.

"2. Employment and manpower: The delegation considered the employment market and the availability of manpower primarily as it pertains to reconstruction in view of the fact that the events prevented the state from obtaining sufficient data in this area because of a lack of statistical activity. There is an urgent need to obtain data relating to the current manpower situation in Lebanon. This data is of extremely great importance for all groups involved: the state, businessmen and workers.

"In this connection an agreement was reached on sending an expert from the ILO office to Lebanon early this year to implement a project designed to obtain information about the manpower situation in Lebanon. This job will take 2 to 3 months to complete. We hope that by the end of this period we will have enough data to use as a basis for employment. This job will be coordinated with the National Employment Organization in complete cooperation with all sectors and concerned organizations, particularly the Development and Reconstruction Board, which will play an important role in this area.

"This project will insure a link between the pressing current needs and the medium- and long-term projects, which will include a survey of the labor force in Lebanon which will require several years to complete.

"3. Training for the handicapped: Everyone knows that the Lebanese war has left many handicapped. The state has a plan for helping these citizens to become a useful and productive element. In this connection the delegation will introduce two projects. One is for training the partially handicapped in professions that Lebanon requires and from which the various economic sectors can benefit. The second is for training the severely handicapped who must have protected workshops where they can produce products that the state will market so that these severely handicapped people can be employed.

"The expert's recommendations mentioned the need for drawing up special legislation related to the handicapped, particularly since the country is directing itself toward reconstruction and needs this group of citizens. The recommendations will also deal with the need to facilitate the work situation for the handicapped to insure that they have special elevators in the buildings and in buses to make it easier for them to get to work.

"4. Reorganization of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs: The specialist, (Lafujir), will submit complete and comprehensive proposals on this subject. He stayed in Beirut for a long time and obtained ample data on the existing framework. Early next year he will submit recommendations to Minister Murawwah on the reorganization and improvement of the ministry and its subsidiary organizations. There is, for example, a proposal to send an expert to the employment agency for a period of about 8 months to cooperate with officials in producing booklets on various vocations. They will be in conformity with the various stages of vocational education. He will also provide advice on all clerical and administrative activities.

"There are also serious proposals on reorganizing the task of supervision in the ministry, one of its most important activities, and on automating the bureau of foreign labor to eliminate irregularities.

"5. Vocational health and safety: A specialist will be in Beirut in early 1983 to look into drawing up proposals to deal with maintaining healthy working conditions at installations and factories, and to insure the safety of the workers in view of its importance in national production. The well-being of the workers is the state's and businessmen's supply of capital. Without it production would cease."

Financing the Projects

In reply to a question about the source of financing for these projects Dr al-Dajjani said, "The ILO will finance some of these projects, specifically the first statistical project on the labor force. We will also attempt to obtain financing for these projects through various UN organizations. In addition, we will undertake a special campaign to obtain financing from the member nations of the United Nations to implement 'rapid projects in Lebanon.' There is an agreement on undertaking this campaign with other UN organizations. The proposed projects are in the 'first class.' That is, they are urgent projects for any country and it will be easy for them to obtain financing from friendly countries and from all countries that are able to participate in any way."

9123

CSO: 4404/184

BRIEFS

COMPLEX TO BE REBUILT--Member of the Libyan Brotherhood Bureau in Beirut 'Abd al-Qadir Ghuqah, announced today that the Jamahiriyyah has decided to rebuild the al-Fatih complex for the development of human capabilities in 'Aramun which was demolished in the zionist invasion of Lebanon. Ghuqah conveyed this decision to Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan during his visit to the Government Palace at noon today. [Text] [NC021438 (Clandestine) Voice of Arab Lebanon in Arabic 1330 GMT 2 Mar 83]

HADDAD ISSUES ORDER--Free Lebanon commander Major Sa'd Haddad has issued the following: The following personnel are asked to immediately join Unit 201 at their own expense. They are Antoine Sim'an, Hasan 'Ali as-Suwayd, Louis Tanyus Abu Hamad, 'Ali Na'im Jahjah and 'Ali Ja'far Safir. The following personnel are also asked to join Unit 202. They are Raymond Samih 'Assaf, Charly As'ad Musa, 'Adil Muhammad al-'Anz, Na'im Jirjis Na'im, Walid Isma'il Dalli, Rizq Ilyas Rizq, Husayn Hasan al-Amn, Rafiq Hijazi, Mahir Nadim 'Abdallah, Kamil Ilyas Qilay'ani and Kamil Tanyus an-Nimr. [Text] [NC020825 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in Arabic 0600 GMT 2 Mar 83]

CSO: 4400/225

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

YASIR 'ARAFAT ON RESPONSE TO REAGAN'S PROPOSALS

PM241029 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 22 Feb 83 pp 1-2

[Report by 'Irfan Nizam al-Din: "Endorsement of Fes Plan and 'Nonacceptance' of Reagan's Proposals: Difficult Birth of Palestinian Action Program"]

[Excerpts] Algiers--The Palest'ne National Council [PNC] will conclude its meetings today after reaching agreement on the final draft of a document which the council began discussing last night in order to endorse it. The final statement is expected to be issued today.

The last decisive meeting of the Palestinian command was held under the chairmanship of [PLO Executive Committee Chairman] Yasir 'Arafat and was attended by secretaries of the resistance factions. The meeting, which began in the afternoon and continued into the night, was intended to iron out the remaining differences over the program and the final resolutions. Meanwhile, the various committees completed their meetings and submitted their recommendations and then sat waiting tensely for the outcome of the decisive meeting.

Most of the resistance faction commanders had once again affirmed that they did not wish to reach danger point and that they would try to salvage national unity. On Sunday night 'Arafat surprised the political committee meeting and addressed its members. 'Arafat made a frank and very violent speech behind closed doors after the committee meeting had tended toward adopting an extremist attitude not only with regard to rejecting Reagan's proposals but also the Fes plan. Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO political department, had earlier opened the meeting and was asked many awkward and embarrassing questions. But as soon as Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] appeared the atmosphere changed. He asked the journalists to leave and for the meeting to be held in camera because, as he said, he will reveal many things and lay bare many attitudes.

ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that Abu 'Ammar said at the closed meeting: "Tell me what you want. We must be realistic and logical. Conditions are extremely serious; they are so serious that I can tell you that all our fate is threatened after what happened in Beirut. There are conspiracies on all sides. When I speak about moderation I do not mean leniency. This is not my habit. It is indeed because I know that they will hold us responsible for rejecting peace, and so the operation to annihilate our people will continue.

We have paid the price of the failure of the first Fes summit (and you know why it failed) with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Do you not see that the whole world's attention is focused on you and is waiting for your resolutions. Some 3,000 foreign and Arab journalists have asked to attend in order to cover the conference. We could only accept 670 of them. Why did they come? Because of your black eyes? No, because they know that every word said here will be weighed a thousand times. I have seen some of you standing on platforms and before cameras indulging in outbidding, insults and outbursts."

'Arafat asked why they were outbidding him and the strugglers who are risking their lives. He said: "I am prepared to leave this seat and this responsibility to you and let any one of you come and take over this responsibility before God and history. Tell us what the alternative is. When I do what I am doing I see before my eyes the thousands of our children and men who are suffering under occupation. If we do not agree here and reach a logical and reasonable formula then you can rest assured that in a year or two the world will forget us and abandon us. Do those who indulge in outbidding realize that they are acting as if they were preparing for the funeral of the Palestinian people?"

Continuing, he added: "There are those who demand the total rejection of the Fes resolution. By God, this is strange. Do you not know that it is a nationalist, Palestinian and Arab resolution? We are with the Arab consensus that has been realized for the first time and which has endorsed the Palestinian people's rights, the independent Palestinian state, and the PLO's sole representation of this people. There are those who call for the rejection of Reagan's initiative and any other initiative. Do you think that this plan will be implemented? The Fes plan needs struggle, strength and strategic confrontation in order for it to be implemented. You think it is so easy. By God, it might need 10 wars before it sees the light. The confederation with Jordan: Do you realize that this is the first bullet fired at Reagan's plans from the standpoint of insisting on a Palestinian state, which Reagan rejects. We will do the impossible in order to compel him and others to accept it."

He said: "Just as we have previously confronted the Geneva conspiracy, we must confront the new initiative by saying 'La'am' (that is, between yes and no) [la in Arabic meaning no and Na'am meaning yes]. So where is reason and where is the responsibility toward our people and our cause. We should maneuver and not close any door that opens before us."

Abu 'Ammar spoke in detail about the situation in Lebanon and the Israeli invasion, and of the present Arab situation, giving a gloomy picture of them all. He also spoke about relations with certain Arab regimes and the difficulties he is facing, saying: "I am tackling all sorts of difficulties and problems in order to maintain a balance. Every Arab country has its own major problems. This is the situation and these are the facts. There are

those who talk about the military option. Do I regret this option? I am working for it and I go here and there in order to obtain arms and secure training for these honorable young strugglers. But open for me one single passage so that I can proceed from it." He added: "I will not beg you or ask you for anything. Accept what you want and reject what you want to reject. You should face your responsibilities without recourse to empty slogans. Think realistically and logically and make up your minds."

Concluding his speech emotionally, he exclaimed: "God be my witness that I have let it be known."

CSO: 4400/214

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

'ARAFAT ON RELATIONS WITH SYRIA, SOVIET VISIT

PM221451 Riyadh AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 14 Feb 83 pp 1, 30

[Report on interview with PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat by Yusuf al-Shuli--date and place not given]

[Text] As the new session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] begins today, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has emphasized that the departure of the Palestinian revolution's forces from Lebanon to several Arab states does not mean the end of the road for the Palestinian revolution as some people imagine. In an interview with AL-JAZIRAH, 'Arafat said that the departure was only a continuation of the revolution's march toward Jerusalem.

He added that the Palestinian higher council has decided to escalate the armed struggle in the occupied territory and behind enemy lines.

'Arafat condemned the political statement issued by five Palestinian organizations in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, describing it as "a Libyan statement." He stressed that Palestinian national unity is stronger than everything else. He also described Palestinian-Syrian relations as strong and solid.

In reply to an AL-JAZIRAH question about his latest visit to the Soviet Union and whether the Soviet leaders had anything new to offer in service of the Palestinian cause, Abu 'Ammar ['Arafat] said that the Soviet leaders have an alternative to U.S. President Reagan's initiative.

On PLO representation in the seven-member committee on its expected visit to the British capital, 'Arafat affirmed that the delegation will include a PLO representative.

Asked on what basis were his meetings with Jewish personalities from Israel held, 'Arafat said that the meetings were held in accordance with the PNC resolutions urging dialogue with all democratic forces inside and outside the occupied territory. In reply to another question about the new alternative the Soviet leaders have to U.S. President Reagan's initiative, he said that this alternative is the unified Arab peace plan approved by the Fes summit conference.

Answering a final question by AL-JAZIRAH, 'Arafat said that we would consider the idea of meeting with [leaders of] the peace now movement in Israel.

CSO: 4400/214

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

REPORT ON HABASH PNC SPEECH

PM241527 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 18-19 Feb 83 p 5

[APS report on speech by PFLP Secretary General Georges Habash at Palestinian National Council session in Algiers on 16 February]

[Excerpt] The previous day [16 February] Dr Georges Habash presented an analysis whose rigorousness, clarity and dialectics were stressed by all.

The PFLP secretary general discussed a whole series of situations engendered by the Lebanon war including the possibility of effectively defeating the Zionist entity. Analyzing the Israeli military theory based on lightning war, technological superiority and psychological warfare, Dr Georges Habash stated that the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters' resistance in Beirut completely destroyed the lightning war theory so dear to the Israeli strategists.

The 79 days during which Beirut was destroyed and surrounded by three divisions supported by the navy and air force in addition to psychological warfare did not enable Israel to attain its objective, namely the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance: "we resisted," he said, "at the museum, al-Damur, al-Awaza'i and the airport. That resistance confirmed the fact that it is possible to defeat Israel if all Arab means were mobilized."

After discussing at length the alliance between the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese progressive forces in Beirut as another fundamental element in the Lebanon war, Dr George Habash warned against the dangers of the Reagan plan--an imperialist-Zionist plan whose implementation would endanger the Palestinian revolution.

This plan "is aimed at the destruction of the Palestinian revolution, and Lebanon's inclusion in the Camp David agreements and it also contains threats against Syria and aims to divide Arab ranks and undermine our relations with the socialist community."

The Reagan plan is part of a vast imperialist undertaking whose objective is to call into question the victories won by the Asian, African and Latin American countries against imperialist domination and colonization, the PFLP secretary general added:

"The Reagan plan which explicitly rejects the creation of an independent Palestinian state and recognition of the PLO is a political bomb which is no different from the fragmentation bombs, vacuum bombs and other bombs which our fighters courageously faced in Beirut."

Referring to the crucial phase through which the Palestinian revolution is passing, with, in particular, an abundance of plans being produced for settling the question, Dr Habash said that "the resistance's political leadership must clearly define its stances on those plans on the basis of national unity."

"Any open-door policy on the Reagan plan or the absence of a clear decision on it is likely to sever the Palestinian resistance from its popular support and endanger national unity and might undermine its role as a vanguard revolution in the region," he added.

With regard to relations between the PLO and the United States, he stressed that Washington's main objective is to encircle the Palestinian revolution in order to be able to destroy it. The Reagan plan does not recognize the PLO and denies the Palestinian people's national rights, whereas the United States has been forced to negotiate directly with that same organization many times, as in 1976 when it came to evacuating U.S. nationals, he added.

Going on to stress that the United States is trying to have the Reagan plan accepted by various means, Dr Habash stated that it is appropriate to take all the necessary action to counter those attempts. The resistance leadership must take adequate decisions for doing that, he said.

Abiding by the Algiers and Rabat Summits

With regard to Jordanian-Palestinian relations the speaker said that "Jordan, which surrounds Palestine, is an important political sphere. With 1 million Palestinians living there it also has different demographic characteristics and it is up to the Palestinians to take the decisions in that sphere."

Recalling that Jordan supported the resolutions of the Algiers and Rabat Arab summits stipulating that the PLO is the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative Dr Habash noted that those resolutions conflict with what is proposed in the Reagan plan which rejects the creation of a Palestinian state.

Any discussion about any confederation would be putting the cart before the horse and would thus play into imperialism's hands, Dr Habash stated, stressing that "the Palestinian revolution's strength stems from its masses' deep faith, the justice of its cause, the mobilization of Arab liberation movements in support of its cause and the socialist community's and international opinion's solidarity with its struggle. That strength leads us to ask Jordan to abide by the Arab summit resolutions."

As for relations with Egypt, they are perceived in the context of the Camp David agreements.

"Following the change which came about in Egypt, did it abandon 'Camp David?' Does it intend to do so?" the speaker asked, going on to point out that to pursue any established relationship with the Egyptian regime in this specific situation would place the Palestinian revolution in the weakest possible position.

With regard to the Fes plan, Dr Habash merely reiterated the reservations he has already had occasion to express and which relate essentially to its hidden objectives and the real possibilities of its being implemented by the Arab countries.

"The content of the Fes plan," he said, "is one thing and the PFLP's stance on that subject is well-known." He added, however, that positions of "rejection for rejection's sake will not liberate Palestine, but we must remember that al-Sadat publicly said 'yes' to collaboration with the enemy and that some reactionary Arab leaders secretly said 'yes' too."

Recalling that the 1979 session had led to the adoption of a political program which all the resistance organizations had supported, the secretary general called for the reaffirmation and continued implementation of that program, specifying that "when the Arab countries meet we must submit it to them and make it into a basis for discussions. We must tell them that we adopted it after lengthy debates and detailed analysis, after consulting all our natural allies."

"We hope that our national charter will be reaffirmed by this council meeting. Our enemies thought that after losing Beirut we would resign ourselves to any solution. We must, therefore, stand by our 1979 program because any solution at the present stage would be surrender, in view of the balance of forces which at present is to our disadvantage," Dr Habash added, calling for this balance to be reversed by the consolidation of national unity and the continuation of the armed struggle which represents half of the factors in favor of strengthening national unity.

"The Palestinian revolution is still alive," he cried. "It is up to the Palestinian masses to prove that it is stronger than ever and that its success is closely linked with its different branches and the Arab national movements. The balance of strength must change and the mobilization of 4 million Palestinians from the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and other Arab countries against the imperialist-Zionist enemy, must be capable of changing that balance."

Finally, Dr Habash advocated a closer alliance between the Palestinian revolution and Syria and its armed forces. He specified that three objective factors call for that alliance. The first is geographical and relates to Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan. The second is the occupation of the Syrian territories on the Golan Heights. The third is the support of the USSR--the Palestinian revolution's natural ally.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PFLP'S HABASH REJECTS 'AMERICAN ROAD'

LD182227 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1700 GMT 18 Feb 83

[Interview with George Habash, secretary general of the PFLP, with Voice of Palestine reporter; date and place unspecified--live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Brother George Habash, secretary general of the PFLP, from the mass demonstrations which are being held within our occupied Palestinian territory and from the statements, leaflets and also the press statements by the mayors and from the national steadfastness inside the occupied homeland the demands of our masses have been clearly stated. They were submitted to the 16th session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] now being held in Algiers. These demands are summed up in the realization of Palestinian national unity and the safeguarding of the freedom and independence of the Palestinian decision. How does the comrade PFLP secretary general view the possibility of transforming these masses' demands into firm realities on the soil of the militant reality?

[Answer] Permit me first to say that I have read some of these demands and some of these letters. Although I fully agree that the question of national unity and the question of the independence of the Palestinian decision top the list of these demands, allow me to say that these two demands are not basic. I also have read other basic demands dealing with the future political line of the PLO. I have read some of the slogans and some demands also dealing with the need to reject the American road the Reagan plan.

I say this because Palestinian national unity is completely linked with the political line on which the foundations of Palestinian national unity will be built. In my estimation, Palestinian national unity has a collection of props. The first basic prop [words indistinct]. This forms the basic structure of national unity. So long as our rifles are pointed at the Zionist enemy this forms the first basic prop of national unity. But this important and basic prop should be accompanied by another prop particularly at this stage. I mean the post-Beirut stage. The second prop concerns the clarity, definition, precision and the adroitness of the joint political line of the PLO. In this context and concerning this idea in particular, we in the PFLP believe that the political line which should be unanimously upheld and on which

national unity should be established is: a clear rejection of the Reagan plan. Political clarity is essential. It is essential that we say to America, to our enemies and also to our masses, we should say that the American road is closed and we will in no form or manner march along this road. With regard to the political line or the political prop, our PNC should define a clear stance toward all the doors or windows or ceilings through which the U.S. plan can get through. [sentence as heard] This is the joint national line which is demanded from this session. We may have a viewpoint on a great number of political matters which are raised before this session of the PNC. Some sort of difference in the viewpoints of these matters might exist. But there should be a condition that there is joint agreement over rejecting the march on the American road. Why? The reason is clear, because the American road does not give or offer us anything. These are the basic props of Palestinian national unity at this stage.

It is possible that we may add a third prop in addition to pursuing the fighting and in addition to the political line which rejects the Reagan plan; it is possible that we may add a third prop which strengthens national unity. This third prop is the organizational relations among the various groups of the Palestinian resistance.

CSO: 4400/214

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

UAE PAPER INTERVIEWS PLO'S KHALIL AL-WAZIR

GF201252 Doha QNA in Arabic 0720 GMT 20 Feb 83

[Text] Ash-Shariqah, 20 Feb (QNA)--Deputy commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces Khalil al-Wazir, alias Abu Jihad, has noted that all the U.S. proposals to solve the Middle East issue ignore the Palestinian national rights and that the Palestine National Council [PNC] will reject--using modern terminology--U.S. President Reagan's plan. He added that the PLO will leave the door open for political maneuvers.

In an interview with [UAE paper] AL-KHALIJ published today Abu Jihad noted that if the United States is serious in participating in the efforts being exerted to solve the Middle East issue then it may admit the need to establish an independent Palestinian state and the need to recognize the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He added that the proposals made by the United States during the meeting which took place between King Husayn of Jordan and U.S. President Reagan last December ignores the national rights of the Palestinian people, refuses recognition of the PLO and limits its role to secret participation in choosing Palestinian figures--not within the PLO--to participate in the Jordanian delegation for negotiations on the future of occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Abu Jihad pointed out that: The Palestinian stance is clear on the proposals presented by the United States which cannot serve as just and acceptable bases for a settlement since they ignore our national right and bypasses the PLO. He emphasized that the current Arab and international circumstances in addition to the balance of power with the enemy on the struggle front do not provide the objective conditions for any settlement that meets the minimum limit of the Palestinian and Arab rights and demands.

On the resolutions which will be adopted by the PNC with regard to the Reagan plan, Abu Jihad said that the PNC agrees unanimously that the plan--in its spirit and contents--cannot serve to achieve as a just settlement for the Arab-Israeli dispute and for the Palestinian issue. He added that the resolution which will be issued by the PNC in this framework will serve as a clear message to the U.S. Government to indicate that the Palestinian people will not abandon their national rights and that they insist on continuation of armed struggle until their well-known demands are attained.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

INTERVIEW WITH DFLP'S HAWATIMAH

LD221102 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 21 Feb 83

[Interview with Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, by unidentified reporter; date and place not specified--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Palestinian national unity, Palestinian independent decision, rallying round the PLO are all questions which all factions of the Palestinian people inside and outside occupied territory have unanimously agreed upon and which they address to the PNC through demonstrations at home and in cables and statements by the national leaders. Comrade Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the DFLP, how do you see the possibility of manifesting this as a militant established fact, embodying the aspirations and aims of our Palestinian people and bearing in mind all the circumstances which surround the issue, the revolution and the Palestinian people?

[Answer] We should be well aware of the fact that in this field we do not start from zero. We have gone a long way along the road of Palestinian national unity and of ensuring the independence of the Palestinian national decision. We have also covered a lot of ground in shaking off all Arab and imperialist attempts and pressure to influence our national unity, regardless of whether such attempts emanate from Arab capitals which are affected by the winds from Washington or from capitals which try to push us toward adopting a futile and adventurous policy reminiscent of the 1973-1974 experience.

In this framework we should be aware that we have adopted a national unionist policy on the basis of the common denominator, and we in the DFLP have been very careful, in view of our basic position in the revolution and the PLO, to continue to implement this policy with full responsibility hand in hand with all the basic groups which have responsibility in this connection.

At this session and after the battle of Lebanon and the siege of Beirut we have been exposed to pressures of various forms and hues whose aim is to influence our Palestinian national unity and to create divisions, blocs and rifts in order to influence the independence of our Palestinian national decision and to steer it either toward the Reagan plan and granting powers to Jordan or any other Arab state or toward the strategy or tactics of this or that Arab state. We say clearly that these pressures have been repelled. We

believe the current session of our PNC will end in victory and triumph, which will confirm the completion of our Palestinian national unity and the entrenching of the independence of our Palestinian national decision. It also confirms that we have reached an advanced state of maturity and we do not need any form of trusteeship or containment or affiliation.

Our people are fighting people, militant people and have long experience in resisting Zionism and its allies and the enemy expansionist state and resisting defeatist Arab trends. Our people do not need anyone to teach them lessons or to bully them. We clearly believe that the debates in the Palestinian leadership, among the secretaries general and the PLO executive committee to prepare for the work of PNC's current session have gone a long way along this road, because national unity and independence of decision must rely on a clear political line: clear in insisting on the function of the PLO as the sole representative of our people and granting no powers to any Arab country.

In the past we rejected the question of granting powers to our big sister Egypt, despite our affection for it and its people; so today we reject the granting of powers to Jordan or involving it in representing our people, despite our affection for the Jordanian people and their role in the common struggle with our people against the common enemy, on a clear basis which affirms that the Palestinian people have firm rights to return and to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on their own national soil.

[Hawatimah continues] In this context we contradict and most certainly oppose the Camp David agreements which rob the PLO of the right to represent the Palestinian people and rob our people of the right to independence and the establishment of their own national state and return. We reject on the same lines and with the same inflexibility the Reagan plan which also robs us of these rights. We also reject all the Reagan plan's derivatives by way of concessions in advance required to empower this or that Arab country to open ourselves to Arab countries which are still firmly committed to the Camp David agreements. At the same time we insist on mobilizing all the Palestinian, Arab, UN and international efforts to defeat the Reagan plan and all its by-products because the Reagan plan is aimed at becoming the political executioner of the Palestinian revolution, PLO and the rights of our people after the bloody, aggressive and expansionist Israeli massacre which invaded Lebanese territory, the Palestinian camp and the forces of the Palestinian revolution on Lebanese territory.

We will not give the enemy front the chance to reap these political harvests. Our people in the interior are continuing the struggle. We are continuing the struggle. If they [the enemy] want to exploit the complex, difficult circumstances resulting from the invasion of Lebanon and the dispersal of the Palestinian revolution forces into a large number of Arab countries thus preventing the Palestinian leadership from taking a center near occupied Palestinian territory, we say clearly that they will not succeed because the historical and accumulated experience of our people and our revolution and our basic revolutionary forces which constitute Palestinian forces [words indistinct] will not enable them to achieve this at all.

At this current session of our national council we will be able to consolidate our national unity and the independence of the Palestinian national decision and repulse all attempts to contain us and impose a mandate over us. We have heard a great deal about these. We will repulse all these by depending on the basis of the program for the current stage of the PLO resulting from daily policies and by insisting on the sole representation of our people, and by insisting on our people's right to return, to self-determination, and to the establishment of our independent state. We insist on rejecting the Reagan plan which is the U.S. interpretation of the Camp David accords and its various parts, and we insist on armed struggle and all other forms of struggle and the need to develop this struggle inside the occupied territories and to regroup the forces of the Palestinian revolution and the stationing of the Palestinian leadership near the occupied Palestinian territories. We insist on a political plan to hold a plenary international conference based on the UN resolutions and the resolutions of the Arab summit conferences which recognize Palestinian rights as a good means of political settlement of the Middle East conflict and the problem of our people's rights. We have come a long way toward this by our preliminary work. I am confident that our national council will arrive at the shores of national safety based on the political clarity of all these issues.

[Question] On this basis how do you--the DFLP--see the process of developing relations with Jordan?

[Answer] As far as we are concerned, Jordan is the people of Jordan--the fraternal people of Jordan--with whom we have developed a wide integrated network of demographic, social, political, human and economic relations throughout the long years since the setback of the conspiracy of 1948 and up to now. Within the framework of our concern for these integrated relations, we are concerned about repelling the attempts of the Arabs of America [term for Arab rulers who have strong relations with the United States] and the attempts of the Jordanian authority to represent the Palestinian people on their own behalf and on behalf of the PLO or at a minimum to participate in the representation of this people. This is because we are determined to protect future relations between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples. Therefore, we have always said that these relations should be formed on the basis of joint struggle against all the plans which do not recognize the rights of the Palestinian people to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state and which depart from the unilateral representation of our people by the PLO. Here we find ourselves in many cases--and not as the delegate of the Jordanian authority said today in his speech to the national council--face to face with many contradictions.

[Hawatimah continues] This is because Jordanian policy does not proceed along the same line as that of preserving our people's rights to independence, self-determination and return and the sole representation of our people by the PLO. The best proof of this is the Jordanian authority's welcome for the Reagan plan as positive and good for negotiations on the Palestinian issue, and the fact that the Jordanian authority called on the PLO to form a joint delegation within the framework of the Reagan plan.

We believe the Reagan plan poses direct danger to the Palestinian national issue because it makes a prior condition that we should make a series of concessions--including one regarding the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people and the right of the Palestinian people to an independent state and abandoning the right to self-determination and the return of the refugees to their homes. The Reagan plan insists that the entire Palestinian issue should be confined to the West Bank and Gaza and insists on transforming it from an issue concerning the national rights of a people to a land into an issue concerning border problems between the enemy state and the neighboring Arab states--exactly going back 18 years, as Resolution 242 stated--the resolution which confined the entire Palestinian issue to a problem of borders between the enemy state and the neighboring Arab states.

Therefore, we see clearly that the problem does not concern contacts and talks with the Jordanian authority--this is not a problem, it is a politically legitimate issue. The problem is: what is the essence of the results which we can achieve? If the essence of the results concerns Jordan joining our revolution and the PLO in joint struggle against the common enemy and enabling the Jordanian people to play their role in this field on the basis of our people having the right to self-determination and independence, and if it is against the policy of making us part of Jordan which was practiced by Jordanian reaction, and if it is against the policy of dividing the people and the land between the enemy state and the neighboring Arab states, then we see this is a great victory for both the Palestinian people and the Jordanian people and all the peoples of our Arab nation and all the forces of Arab liberation and progress. But if the talks and contacts result in support for the Reagan plan, then this would be a great catastrophe as far as the national Palestinian issue and all the rights of our people are concerned.

In order to avoid such a catastrophe, we say: no to the Reagan plan; no to giving any Arab country a mandate to speak on behalf of our people; no to the attempts to end the PLO's sole representation of our people; yes to Jordan's commitment in words and deeds to our people's rights which were acknowledged and recognized by the Arab summit conferences in Algiers, Rabat and other summits, and which stressed the right of our people to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of our independent state. This clearly means no to the Reagan plan in all its forms.

Within this framework, we daily welcome any Arab force which joins this policy. This is what our national council will arrive at, I believe. Within this framework, we would like to clearly point out that all attempts being made to bypass the sole representation of our people by the PLO by substituting elements from the West Bank and Gaza are defeatist attempts working for the interest of the Camp David accords and the U.S. interpretation of these accords--the Reagan plan--because they want to confine the entire Palestinian national issue to the fate of the West Bank and Gaza--land and people. As for the fate of the entire Palestinian people and their issue, the Reagan plan ignores them totally. We will not allow any trick or maneuver to take place in this connection.

This political line alone guarantees future serious relations based on equality and democracy and democratic option between the Palestinian independent state, which will definitely be established in the 80's following the struggle, and the Jordanian state. We believe future relations can begin with a confederal step, following the birth of the independent Palestinian state but not before. This is because any prior announcement means the cancellation of the PLO's role and clearly means the cancellation of the principle of the independent state of our people.

CSO: 4400/214

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PNC MEMBER ON CONTACTS WITH ISRAELI PEACE MOVEMENT

GF201622 Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 18 Feb 83 p 3

[Report on interview with 'Isam Sartawi, member of the Palestinian National Council [PNC], by AL-BAYAN correspondent 'Umar Khalusi Basaysu in Algiers--date not given]

[Excerpts] PNC member 'Isam Sartawi demanded the amendment of the PNC decision regarding talks with Jewish progressive forces to enable the PLO to have contacts with Jewish and Israeli democratic and progressive forces who recognize the legal national rights of the Palestinian people, including their rights to return, self-determination, establishment of an independent state, and be represented by the PLO, their sole legal representative.

In an interview with AL-BAYAN, Sartawi added that the peace movement that he is talking about which brought out 400,000 demonstrators onto the streets of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and whose efforts and activities led Colonel (Jiza) to rebel and refuse to participate in the incursion into Beirut, is the same movement whose members are refusing to serve in the West Bank and Gaza Strip because they regard them as occupied Palestinian territories and as a consequence, are being sentenced for opposing Israeli racist policies and practices.

Sartawi described the Israeli peace council as a symbolic and significant club and not a party, and stated that it represents the philosophizing of the idea of peace and programs within a political framework, and it proposes a new approach to the masses.

When I interrupted him and said: It is the Labor Party you are talking about that brought out 400,000 demonstrators for internal reasons, Sartawi said: That is correct, the left wing of the Labor Party participated in it. The importance of the role of the peace movement is that it has expanded its activity and influence even within the Labor Party.

In reply to another AL-BAYAN question Sartawi said: We are moving toward the direction of the Israeli peace movement in order to execute the PNC decision of 1977. And the disputes raised on this issue within the Palestinian

arena basically stem from differences in explaining and identifying the decision of the Palestinian legislature, that is, the PNC which allows for holding talks with Jewish democratic and progressive forces.

Sartawi added: There were views expressed that the decision aims to open the door for talks with Jewish and Israeli progressive forces that are hostile to Zionism and this opposition can be seen in both words and deeds, and which recognize the rights of the Palestinian people. He added that the identification of which are the Zionist forces and the ones that are hostile to them is a matter of speculation, and not a legal one. There are views being expressed that whoever recognizes the rights of the Palestinian people are not Zionists, and there are others that express the belief that the Rakah Party is Zionist because it participates in the Israeli Knesset. But I--Sartawi--say that certainly over 95 percent of Rakah's members are Arabs and I do not think that the national council is able to decide on a policy that prevents us from contacting our people inside the occupied territories.

He explained that the text of the decision adopted by the national council at its last session regarding negotiations with Jewish democratic and progressive forces is insufficient and incomplete and there is a move to change it.

CSO: 4400/214

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

INTERVIEW WITH PLO'S KHALIL AL-WAZIR

LD181131 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Interview with Khalil al-Wazir, [Abu Jihad], member of the PLO Executive Committee and deputy commander in chief of the Palestine Revolution Forces, by unidentified correspondent at the Palace of Nations in Algiers; date not given--live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] There is unanimity on the importance of the current, 16th PNC session. Can Brother Abu Jihad tell us about some of the agreement in views achieved up to now, either within the context of the general debate or of the eight subcommittees?

[Answer] First I want to say that it gives me pleasure to talk to our brothers, the heroic Algerian people, especially on this historic occasion during which the PNC is meeting.

Since 1965 until this year, we have faced two issues: confrontation with the aggressive Israeli enemy; and continuing battle. One day the air force attacks our bases. On another we find it attacks us with tanks as happened when we were in Jordan, in Syria and in Lebanon. Israeli aircraft continued attacks against us everywhere. When we finished one battle, regrettably we would see another battle at our back. This was in the past, but we stood fast and overcame all these obstacles and problems; we enter one battle after another and hope that we will have a better opportunity in the future to continue our struggle against the enemy. Despite all these battles we still say that our struggle against the Israeli enemy, which is in our land, is the main struggle and we pursue this.

Finally Israel planned to attack Lebanon. How was this attack planned; We know about the meeting held at the Pentagon when a group of American and Israeli generals sat and discussed the nature of this battle which at the time was under the auspices of (Haig). Everyone knows this. They discussed how they could destroy the PLO in the shortest possible time so that there would be no opportunity, as the American generals said, for worldwide condemnation because world condemnation could embarrass America before the USSR as an opposite superpower, or Arab countries which have good relations with it.

Thus they had to settle the battle quickly in order not to embarrass America. This is what they discussed. They discussed the quick destruction of the bases of the Palestinian revolution--within 48 hours--and how to minimize Israeli army losses. These were the points of discussion.

The Israeli enemy then began its military operation against Lebanon with two objectives in mind, made public by Begin, Sharon, Eytan and all the Israeli political and military leadership: First, destruction of the military ability and strength of the PLO, and second its political existence and strength. The world saw with us that these objectives were not achieved; the battle lasted 88 days instead of 48 hours. The Beirut battle, with its steadfastness and battles, lasted 79 days, and you know that in every battle there are stories of heroism, emotion and steadfastness.

As we have said before, the Israeli enemy used to tell Philip Habib to inform the Palestinian leadership that it must surrender, that it is ready to allow us to pass Israeli positions to surrender our weapons and to leave under a white flag with our hands in the air and our heads bowed. This is what Philip Habib came at first to tell us. We told him this would not happen and we would continue to fight; let them come, we are waiting for them. Thanks to the steadfastness of the Lebanese and Palestinian fighters, and thanks to the stand of the Palestinians in the camps in Beirut and the Lebanese in West Beirut, thanks to this cohesive stand, we were able to achieve the miracle of heroic steadfastness, which the world had followed and known, and which we followed with your sympathy.

This battle allowed the Palestinian fighter to leave with his rifle held firmly, in his hand and his other hand making the sign of victory, proof of the revolutionary, determined will to continue the fight, proof that we were not defeated. It is true that we lost some weapons. It is true that we left a position and lost land, but we were determined that our will would not be defeated and that we are continuing with the struggle and the fight. When we left Beirut the main question before the enemy was: Is their military strength destroyed? Our answer was that our military strength, despite the fact that we lost some weapons, our military structure, was not destroyed. On the contrary, within weeks our military force took its positions at other confrontation points at al-Biqa' and in the north.

When our forces were dispersed in several regions the Israelis said we were finished, that we were defeated. Our answer, with our revolutionary will, was no, this is not a weakness. It is true they wanted to see it as weakness, as they did the banishment of the Palestinian people in the past. But we, with our will, will transform it into strength.

We are dispersed in 10 places--the PDRY, Aden, San'a', Sudan, Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Tunis, Algeria and Egypt. We are in 10 positions. This may appear before all as a weakness, but we say we do not put all our eggs in one basket. The element of blackmail which they used against us--that they will liquidate all capability of the revolution--is something from which we have been

liberated. If we are harmed in one position, others remain to raise the flag of struggle and fighting, irrespective of the circumstances. When we enter a battle there will be no delay in the arrival of the rest of the forces at the scene. Even in the battle in Lebanon, we had organized forces in Jordan, Egypt and other places, and these forces came together. And our youth came from all over the Arab world and Europe to take part in the fighting, to play their militant role in this battle. Therefore, we are free from the element of blackmail which the enemy attempts to impose on us, directing its attacks with the objective of eliminating us. Thus, at the military level, our force was not eliminated and they returned to all their positions to reorganize, train and arm.

When we had the military parade in Aden our message to the whole world was that the PLO, with its armed forces, rises once again to tell this world: I am still with the same strength, ability and organization and that the Israeli enemy failed to achieve its objective. This is at the military level. As to the political level, they wanted to destroy our political existence and our political movement, but our steadfastness before the world was of major significance: the solidarity and sympathy in the world with the Palestinian people has become wider, and when Brother Abu Ammar left Beirut for Athens and then to the Fes summit, we saw a welcome which expressed the Arab will; and then we saw his political moves in Rome, at the international parliamentary conference, and other political moves.

We see a picture of international solidarity and interaction with our political cause and further support from these international forces within the political framework. Palestinian institutions tell the world that we are continuing. The executive committees, the institutions, the central council, and all the institutions of the revolution in their turn tell the world by their meetings that we are unaffected and that aggression has not destroyed us.

Then came the day of this national council session to tell the world that our political structure, with its full strength, is unaffected and not destroyed as the Israeli wanted.

We are here today to express to the world politically our solidity, unit and strength from this international festival which we witness in Algeria and which is followed by all. This is the ground on which the PNC is meeting. As to the deliberations of the council, let it be known to all the brothers it is not necessary for all views to be identical. We in the Palestinian revolution consider ourselves an oasis of democracy and it is the right of every struggler to express his opinion. I do not feel ashamed to hear an opposing opinion in the Palestinian arena. No Palestinian leader feels ashamed to listen to viewpoints opposing his. On the contrary, this is an element of strength. But in the end, when we agree on a resolution, all ought to adhere to it.

[Question] Brother Abu Jihad, Palestinian national unity is one of the most important pillars of the Palestinian revolution. Is it possible to say that this, the 16th session, will lay down the political and military foundations of this unity for the groups of the Palestinian resistance?

[Answer] Let me make an additional remark. Before this session there was much talk and rumor in international quarters that this session would not be held. Why? Because there are many who stay away because they hold opposing views. Many spoke of these rumors in international quarters. Also there are groups of the revolution who would not attend and would boycott it. These were rumors, but when the session began, all felt that no one would stay away. All are present and this is a proof of the inclination of all to have national unity. All came on the basis that we come out of this session with unity, first, unity of the military instrument of the Palestinian revolution and the unity of the fighters within one military apparatus. And this plan on unity, submitted to the national council, will be approved within the next 2 days in order to firmly establish the unity of the Palestinian fighting forces into one military apparatus. By doing this we will be making a big stride.

As to unity of political action, the Palestinian leadership will also be eager to maintain the unity of the apparatus and the institutions of the leadership, in which all sides participate and which embodies Palestinian national unity. This is what all want and this is included in the speeches of all--consolidation of national unity.

[Question] Brother Abu Jihad, some claim that a substitute for the Palestinian revolution lies in a political solution, especially after the Beirut stage. What is the dominant inclination in this field among the Palestinians?

[Answer] We want to clarify this issue in a [word indistinct] form. First we are the victims in the land of Palestine, the heart of the Arab homeland. We are the victims of Israeli aggressive crime, backed by the United States. It is our right to carry arms and fight, just as you carried your rifle to fight and achieve victory against French colonialism.

Our Palestinian people started with armed struggle and through it we established the personality of the Palestinian people and their existence. Through the rifle the whole world heard about us. For years the world turned a deaf ear to us. With the bomb, rifle and pistol we established our existence and this was the ground of action for the Palestinian revolution. The Palestinian revolution became known thanks to the victims, martyrs, prisoners, and the continued battles it waged. We say now that armed struggle is the basis for any political move. We say it does not mean that political moves by the PLO necessarily mean a political solution or a political settlement. No, we believe that a political move is the political struggle which completes the military struggle, and is the one which reaps the fruit of military victories on the battlefield. Thus we are making political moves in every arena, and we must broaden the circle of political moves on all the Arab and international arenas.

Even in American society we make moves because we want to widen the circle of interaction within that society regarding the Palestinian cause and the rights of the Palestinian people. Even at the level of the societies of our enemies we are moving in order to widen the circle of interaction and recognition of our rights--even inside the circle of our enemies. We consider this

political move to be a political struggle which balances our military struggle. All this stems from our land, the land of struggle and the land of sacrifice mixed with blood. On this basis we act but this does not mean that we have given up armed struggle. Armed struggle is the foundation and ingredient of the existence of the Palestinian revolution. Without it we cannot achieve our rights, not only at the Palestinian level but also at the whole Arab level. It is true that our Arab nation has adopted the Fes settlement plan, but we say that this is the minimum level of action in the Arab arena.

Our Arab nation should hasten to create an adjustment in the balance of power with regard to our enemy because one of the causes of our Israeli enemy's aggression is that the balance of power is in its favor. Thus our Arab nation should unite its strength and mobilize its energies in full in order to create a balance of power in favor of the Arab nation, thus making the enemy fear it, to hesitate and not to proceed with occupying Lebanon or hitting the airport and the nuclear reactor in Baghdad, or threatening Amman, Damascus or other Arab capitals. Therefore, we say with regard to a political solution about which they talk, that first, if we knock on all doors to see the dimensions of these political proposals, we are not abandoning armed struggle, that it is our right to move politically to see what are the offers of the opponents within this context, and to always strive for (?development) and further struggle in order to develop them to the day when they recognize our political rights in full, thus achieving the Palestinian and Arab national conditions to be imposed on our enemies.

[Question] Brother Abu Jihad, the issue of unity between Palestine and Jordan to create a strong state and a strong army, and to start from there to liberate the occupied land, was raised. There are some fears regarding this unity. What is your analysis?

[Answer] First on relations with Jordan. We as a Palestinian people look at the nature of relations with Jordan as special. Why? Because in Jordan there are no less than 1.25 million Palestians and we have mixed with the sons of the Jordanian people during the many years since 1948, and even before. There is one life which is joined at the levels of the family, the tribe, and in the field of livelihood our people live there. During the struggle we have been waging we were together as the sons of Palestine and Jordan, continuously facing the Israeli aggression. Then came the tragedy of September 1970, which set certain conditions, but we used to say that the effects of it should be ended quickly, that we must learn from it and work in a certain way for a return to relations.

Since leaving Beirut we have been eager to see how relations can be resumed so as to again have a PLO presence in Jordan. Indeed, lately, and especially after the Baghdad summit, we started with a number of delegations holding talks in Jordan in order to reach the truth about normal relations. We have not reached what we want. There are many unsolved issues. When we look at future issues we say there must be a definition of a relationship of struggle between us and our brothers. Therefore, when we think of this, so as to make foundations for cooperation between us in the Jordanian arena, we think about the future.

Our Jordanian brothers proposed a confederation or a federation. They said that we as Palestinians are ready for confederal relations. But why confederal? We said we did not understand this as when Brother Abu Ammar and the accompanying delegation met King Husayn and the Jordanian Government, the dialogue went like this. Brother Abu Ammar explained that the Palestinian people have struggled for 34 years, facing massacres, torture and homelessness, long ordeals and all their pain for one thing--for the Palestinian to see himself in an independent Palestinian state having its [word indistinct]; a Palestinian flag over its homeland and Jerusalem, its passport, the passport for every Palestinian, because the story of Jerusalem is a torture for every Palestinian; a foreign ministry to express the independent Palestinian political resolution; and an army and armed force. When this Palestinian state is set up with these characteristics we, the soldiers of Arab unity, will say we are ready for our relations with the brothers in Jordan to be confederal and even stronger [words indistinct]. This is our starting point as regards the nature of relations with the Jordanian brothers and this we have declared always [words indistinct].

In America, and especially in the American administration, there is a categorical denial of the Palestinian right. Kissinger, with the Camp David accords decided not to make any move toward relations with the PLO without the agreement of the Israeli enemy. All American administrations have adhered to this intransigent attitude which denies our Palestinian right to establish an independent Palestinian state, our right to self-determination. This American intransigence is the prominent characteristic of American policy. When the seven-member committee informed Reagan of the Fes resolution, he insisted that he does not recognize the PLO and that he will not go to the extent of recognizing an independent Palestinian state. We say that the American attitude is clear, and hostile to the Palestinian people and the PLO cause.

But despite this we say perhaps the Sabre and Shatila massacres and the steadfastness for 88 days by the Palestinian fighter during the heroic battle in Lebanon have shaken the conscience of the American society. And we, through our contacts, know that they have shaken and influenced the American public opinion in favor of the Palestinian cause and in favor of response to the Palestinian right. But to what extent has this influenced the mentality of the American administration. We regrettably have to say very little. The Reagan plan, which does not meet our national rights, shows this. Our people see in it a no to our Palestinian state. Reagan is saying no to our Palestinian state, to our right to self-determination, no to the PLO unless it recognizes UN Resolution 242 and 338. He is the one who says that sovereignty over the land should the Israeli enemy withdraw, is linked with Jordan. Other such stipulations are made in the Reagan plan. Therefore, we say that the American attitude is hostile and backs aggression against our people and revolution. The removal of Haig and his resignation from the American administration is clear proof of the extent of the American collusion with the Israeli policy in its aggression against us.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY DISCUSSES OIL EXPLORATION, ECONOMIC PLANNING

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 18 Dec 82 p 23

[Interview with Mr 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal, ministry of industry, in Aden, by Marwan Hazin: "'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal Says: 'The World of Petroleum Is a World Which Does Not Tolerate Astrology, and Yemen Has Oil, But Is Not an Oil-Producing Nation'"; date of interview not specified]

[Text] The PDRY minister of industry, Mr 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal, said that the world of petroleum is a world which does not tolerate astrology, but rather tolerates only decisions based on dealing with complicated scientific geological and physical matters.

In answer to a question posed to him by AL-SIYASAH concerning the discovery of oil in the PDRY, he added: "Recently we have been talking about oil in our country, but this talk has not been based on any anticipation that we are going to become an oil-producing nation overnight."

He pointed out that the PDRY, under current circumstances, structures its budgets and development plans on the basis that there is no oil in the PDRY at the present time—even though there actually is. He went on to say: "We are not people to hold out promises to our masses. We are people who put the facts before them."

He stated that so far limited non-commercial quantities of oil have been discovered in the PDRY. He said that eight wells have been drilled, the last of which yields about 3,000 barrels per day. The following is the text of the interview:

[Question] According to the newspapers oil has been discovered in some areas of the PDRY and drilling for oil is still going on in other areas. What is the size of the discoveries which have been announced? What are the prospects for success as far as current drilling for oil is concerned? Is it likely that the PDRY will be transformed into an oil-producing nation?

[Answer] When you talk about what the newspapers have said about the discovery of oil in the PDRY, you are talking about the news items that mentioned the announcement which was carried by the newspapers on 2 April 1982. The announcement said that oil had been found in the Sharmah-1 well which is 600 kilometers from the capital city of Aden, about 8 kilometers offshore, and in waters

about 127 meters deep. The depth of the well is approximately 2,150 meters. Of course, this well is considered to be a basic indicator which is providing a series of conclusions:

The first conclusion is of a scientific and geological nature. It is that the geological ages which have been gone through in the area where the PDRY is are geological ages which were the type capable of resulting in rock formations in structures capable of producing oil. This is a very important scientific conclusion as far as we are concerned. It is a discovery which is fundamentally of interest to geologists and the companies which are engaging in drilling operations.

The second conclusion is that this discovery is determining not only the positive elements of this formation—which is not a large formation—but also will prove useful when examining some of the conclusions concerning other similar formations.

The third conclusion concerns having a knowledge of the interlinking formations between the land areas and offshore areas. This will also provide some important indicators concerning the type of rock formations which give rise to oil and during which geological age they were formed.

Since only about 9 months have passed since the company announced that it had hit oil reserves, it is still premature to definitely set a figure for the future volume of production in this area. However, studies right now are going on which are large-scale and extensive studies and they embrace the whole area covered by the agreement. Two agreements have been made with the Agip Company. One was an agreement made in 1977, and is called the "Sayhut" agreement, and the second agreement was made in 1979, and it is called the "Al-Mukalla-Qamr Bay" agreement. Eight wells have been drilled in the area covered by the two agreements. Some of these wells have given some indications of hydrocarbons. The last of these wells which was drilled has been yielding about 3,000 barrels per day, according to an official announcement by the company. Studies which are being conducted in the area right now are attempting to determine some important matters. First of all, on the basis of the information gathered, the studies are attempting to determine which are the areas where there are likely to be formations which will yield oil. Secondly, the study is attempting to determine conclusions concerning the formation itself, the existence of which in the well has been announced, that is, the study is attempting to determine other useful conclusions concerning the relationship of the formations to each other.

It has been decided that the Petroleum and Minerals Commission here will undertake a study of all of the information together with the Agip Company immediately after the various tests have been done and will discuss future development of the area of this discovery on the basis of the information which will be available within the next few months.

Concerning the other part of your question about whether or not other discoveries have been made in other areas, the fact is that no discoveries in the usual scientific sense of the word have taken place. But there are indications

of the presence of some traces of hydrocarbons in the area—both gas and oil—but it would be difficult to label this as a discovery.

Nonetheless, right now we are undertaking extensive and detailed surveys in numerous areas, and in land areas in particular. We have three principal activities of this type going on:

The first activity is a project which we are engaging in with the Soviet Union. We have concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union on the basis of the "turnkey" contract. It is the PDRY government's point of view that this is one of the best agreements that we have because it does not involve sharing production. The contract involves direct financing by the Soviet Union, and the Soviet teams are complemented by local PDRY personnel whenever they are available for work in this project.

The second activity is a project engaged in together with a Brazilian firm and it is based on the principle of sharing production. The firm is the Braspetro Company, and it is carrying out surveys over a wide area totalling 40,000 square kilometers.

The area surveyed is in both the Governorate of Hadramaut and the Governorate of al-Mahrah. The first has actually already begun its geological and geophysical work. It will continue making these surveys for at least 2 years until it discovers geological structures where drilling operations can begin.

It is likely that the Brazilians will begin drilling operations during the second half of 1984 or even sooner than that. This depends upon the results which they arrive at. Perhaps they will basically concentrate on certain areas to the exclusion of others in order to begin the drilling process sooner.

Of course, drilling is only undertaken as a result of a survey, and it is merely the beginning. There are some companies which drill a large number of wells and run across oil after having drilled a great number of wells, and there are others which run across oil starting with the first well drilled. Finding oil is a tricky and complicated business.

The third activity is a national project, undertaken with the participation of foreign organizations, for the purpose of benefiting from foreign technology and training local personnel. A great many seismic surveys are being undertaken in this project.

We have a group called the National Seismic Survey Team. A French firm is working together with this team to establish programs, to provide the team with machinery and equipment, and to transfer expertise to it.

There is also another national team which was formed some time ago and its work is equal to the production standards of any international firm.

The capital for this project was made available by means of a loan from the World Bank which totalled more than \$9 million. The benefit of this project is that, when it has been finished, we will have had at least 60,000 square

kilometers of area surveyed. We will then be able to advertise these areas as available to companies wishing to prospect for oil in the PDRY. As a result of this project we will have large areas which we will be able to interest foreign firms to invest in. All of these areas are, of course, land areas rather than offshore areas./

However, we also have some offshore areas which are ready to be advertised as available for oil prospecting. In fact, we have already made contacts with firms concerning this. These areas have been thoroughly surveyed, and it is highly likely that oil will be found there. Right now we are making contacts with responsible officials to have them start allowing oil drilling to begin in these areas.

It is part of our general policy concerning oil and minerals to give high priority to this area. In our development plans we are continually earmarking funds for these projects, and these funds are greatly increasing as time goes by. Today we are trying to make up for lost time in this area, but without being too hasty about it. However, in any case, the investments made in oil-related areas are large investments, and our domestic resources alone are not enough to implement large projects of this type.

We also, more than once, have called upon the Arabs to have their capital participate directly in this activity instead of having their large amounts of capital squandered and frozen in banks and instead of seeing these amounts of capital simply stagnate in the banks of Europe. This capital should be channeled into the exploitation of natural resources, including the petroleum and mineral resources of a country such as the PDRY. The PDRY's resources are great and the companies are fully convinced that there will be a future for oil and minerals production there.

This represents an opportunity for the owners of Arab capital to change their current policy. At the present time their investments are being channeled into hotels and other such investments in Europe, and these are investments which are useless and of no strategic value for the Arabs. This applies to all Arabs everywhere, and not only to the Yemenis.

We are in need of this capital, and we are prepared to create broad opportunities for investments for this capital. We have a very clear and definite investment law, and the PDRY is a member of the Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Organization.

In my opinion there are no obstacles to prevent the PDRY from obtaining its share of Arab investments. The Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Organization has compiled a report which compares the unified agreement's provisions concerning the investment of Arab capital with the PDRY's legislation which has been enacted concerning investment. We should bear in mind, however, that in the field of petroleum and minerals we are going beyond the limits of what has basically been stipulated in our investment law. The reason for this is that the situation regarding oil is a special situation, and it involves its own requirements, criteria, and traditions which have been established over a certain period of time with regard to relations between companies and nations

and regarding investments. We always prefer to operate within rather than outside the framework of Arab development efforts. Naturally one can say that, in the field of oil production, the PDRY one day will be having its share of the petroleum wealth which is found in the Arabian Peninsula. However, we are not able to precisely determine when this day will be. This depends on many circumstances, including the work that is going on now to complete our present surveys, evaluation of the discoveries, the Agip Company, and the possibility of advertising as available for oil prospecting the new areas which are now being discussed by the World Bank. The World Bank is known for the accuracy with which it employs criteria [for extending loans]. The World Bank would not have been interested in these areas if it had not fully realized that its investments would yield the profits hoped for and bring encouraging results. The World Bank is hoping to join in with us in the process of advertising the new areas as available for oil prospecting, and these areas will be open for prospecting in 1983.

There is another field--that of minerals--which we will be attempting to give special emphasis to starting in 1983, and this will apply to both solid minerals and minerals which contain construction materials which we need for building and construction. These minerals are of high value, and they include alabaster, marble, etc. We are expending efforts in this field, but the efforts which we are expending cannot be compared with those expended in the field of petroleum. However, we are attempting to provide greater impetus and momentum to the activity done in the field of solid minerals. The work done in connection with mineral production is more complicated than that done in connection with producing oil. The method of processing minerals is a rather long one, it requires large investments, and consequently the economics of producing minerals differs from the economics of producing oil. For this reason we are encountering great difficulties in being able to obtain work agreements dealing with the field of solid mineral production in particular.

Right now we are attempting to enter this activity together with investment establishments which deal in minerals--in particular, the Arab Mining Organization--and together with any other organizations which care to invest in this. We also are not excluding Arab capital from participating in this.

There are a lot of opportunities in this field here, including copper, iron, etc. But we never cease to be amazed at how the owners of Arab capital plunge into putting their capital into secondary projects rather than venturing to invest their capital in the national resources of the Arab countries.

This is our opinion concerning the general situation with regard to investment, and we hope to be able to overcome our development problems in the PDRY by means of discovering our resources. This would be something which would be universally beneficial to all of the people of Yemen.

Right now we have one outstanding project which is going to be financed by AFESD [The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development]. The project involves charting a geological and hydrogeological map, and the project is called the "water and natural resources project for the two Yemens." This project is one which is very important for the two Yemens.

By means of this project we will be able to discover what resources the two Yemens have and what the future of these resources will be, and the project will cost a minimum of approximately \$40 million. There is an agreement between the two Yemens which was signed approximately 6 months ago. The two cabinets in the two Yemens have agreed to the basic stipulations of the project. AFESD requested that the two governments decide to take out an AFESD loan or a loan from any of the other funds which the AFESD can call upon to participate in the project. The request was made, the AFESD gave its approval, and now arrangements are being made to actually start the project and work has already begun concerning the project's organizational matters. The first joint administrative board meeting held by the two Yemens will be devoted to this matter.

Question When people think of the PDRY, they think of a country whose economy depends on agriculture and fish resources. Has a lot of development been achieved in these two areas, and has there been a trend toward industrialization after the PDRY achieved the stability which it now has begun to enjoy? The second part of my question is: Since we know that Yemen is rich in resources which are still under the ground and have not been extracted yet, could you give us some idea about the projects which you have set up in order to exploit these resources?

Answer The fact is that, before we achieved our independence, we did have resources but were not able to engage in the process of exploiting them. These resources existed in the sectors of agriculture and fishing. But it is not possible for us to speak of the resources of the industrial sector before independence without taking these two sectors into consideration.

We also had possibilities in the mining sector and for searching for resources, or at least obtaining the basis for doing this. But it is clear that the colonial policy in Yemen carefully adapted the economy of the area so that it would totally serve the basic mission of the colonialists in the area as a whole, based on the fact of Aden's strategic location.

Colonialist policy did not see Aden as a commercial location except to the extent that this commercial location served two of its objectives, which were the following:

The first objective was to harness all of the commercial and economic activities in Aden to serve the foreign military presence.

The second objective—and this was something which was natural for the colonialists—was to have our economy also be of service to the capitalist economy at its source, that is, in Britain itself. We also find that the British and the companies oriented this consciousness on the part of the Yemeni people toward certain merchandise and certain brands. The colonialists even attempted to orient and adapt people's occupations in accordance with what they felt desirable. This was the danger which we were facing then. For this reason, this type of situation which existed in Aden gave the people who utilized the approaches followed by British policy the impression that agricultural production could succeed only to a limited degree in order to meet the requirements of the military camps and inhabitants in areas nearby Aden.

Take, for example, cotton. Cotton was planted not because of any good intentions toward the country. It was planted because of the crisis in Egypt and because Egypt became a country which waged a struggle against imperialism. The colonialists then tried to create a development commission in Abyan and Tuban in order to obtain cotton for British interests. This was as far as Aden and its neighboring areas were concerned.

As for the areas outside Aden and the so-called "Eastern Protectorates," the policy there aimed at keeping these areas backward and in a stage of feudalism. This is why agriculture there remained in its backward state, and the same was true with regard to fisheries. The capital which existed in banks in those days was not channeled toward these sectors. It was parceled out to a very limited degree in the form of real estate and housing construction loans to a few merchants or contractors in Aden. This is all that was done with it, and this did not help to promote the other fields. Even if some members of the national bourgeoisie did have intentions and interests in this direction, they were limited, on a small scale, and of secondary importance. In any case, I can say that this class of people failed to create any industry. This is something which is important to remember.

We had to face some real obstacles in our country. The first of these was the fact that an industry could not be created under the circumstances of an open market. If someone wanted to protect this industry, he ran up against the Western capitalist policy which was to prevent the creation of a national industry in order that the opportunity be given to the products of foreign industries to flood the open market. Customs protection did not exist. Also, there was no training for Yemeni citizens and Yemeni production forces. All we had was a technical institute which was just barely above the secondary school level. We had no colleges. All we had were people called "skilled technicians." They were used for simple jobs such as the maintenance of machinery, equipment, and pieces of electrical equipment, and for ordinary repair jobs in workshops. There was no trend toward creating a generation of industrialists to promote industry, nor was there any trend toward creating national capital belonging to people who would have the national aspirations of wanting to build the country's economic and industrial base.

For this reason the possibility of developing industry did not exist before independence. As for the time after independence, there were two problems that we faced:

First of all, there was the absence of even the most basic means of having agriculture grow in a direction which would enable it to be utilized to serve industry. There was a lack of what we call its basic infrastructures such as dams, modern irrigation, development, mechanization, production forces, and improvement in the old economic production relationships which were complicated and backward. It was not possible to promote industry or to have the industry be based on agricultural raw materials without reforming the agricultural situation.

During the two 5-year plans from 1971 to 1981 the emphasis concerning the sector of agriculture was basically on furthering agriculture's infrastructure. This was one aim, and the other aim was to have an infrastructure built for an economically weak country, that is, we needed roads, electricity, ports, and means of storage. Without all of these things it was not possible to promote industry.

The second problem was that it takes a long time to train an industrial worker and to prepare society to utilize industrial workers. Nevertheless, we did manage to create a nucleus of such workers among those who worked in workshops, on the British base, and in the Aden refineries. One could say that these refineries were the first real industrial activity in the PDRY which was established by foreign companies. My opinion is that this was not something which was spontaneous, but rather occurred due to reasons which are well-known. What happened was that the refinery was supposed to be built in Iran, but then the Musaddiq movement emerged just as the project designs had been finished. The company then fled from Iran and moved to Aden so that it would not be a victim of the process of nationalization. As for fisheries, there was only a small department in the Ministry of Agriculture dealing with this area, but then it developed until it became an independent ministry. In short, it was in this complicated situation that our industry got its start, but the steps which we took were bold ones. Now we have 52 industrial plants. We are attempting to pursue a new policy which consists of replacing imported industrial goods with locally produced goods whenever possible.

We have actually already started the process of replacing a whole series of such items by setting up our industries which produce them. The replacement of such items helps to develop and form the type of industry which we want to create. We know who the consumers are, we know what their consumption patterns are, and we also know the technology that is required. The easiest thing is for us to begin by producing things which the people are used to. We have begun with these types of industries, and we actually have good industrial plants which have achieved good results in accordance with the circumstances under which these plants were set up.

On the other hand, we are also attempting to set up industries which are more of a strategic type than of the type based on replacement. We have begun to concentrate basically on locally produced raw materials, whether they are agricultural raw materials or fish products—which we consider to be an extension of the process of achieving a secure food supply—or building and construction materials such as cement, alabaster, marble, glass, ceramic, etc.

Right now we are engaging in three principal studies, which are the following:

The first study is a study of all building materials and their uses in Yemen. We are doing this both to find out how much such material is available and to find out how possible it is to utilize these materials to decrease construction costs in our country. In this study we are concentrating on the traditional building materials which have been utilized by Yemenis in their construction. The Yemenis have utilized traditional materials in a skillful

and creative way. In Hadramaut we see that people have built structures using simple and uncomplicated local materials, and these structures have endured for 400 years in difficult climatic conditions.

The second study has to do with the cotton sector since we have a textile and cotton clothing industry.

The third study deals with materials for the foodstuff industries.

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CSO: 4404/161

IMPROVEMENTS REPORTED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC SECTORS

Surplus in Budget

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 26 Jan 83 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, January 26 (Bakhtar)— The surplus in the Budget testifies to the fact that the process of social and economic development in Afghanistan is a continuing process, according to the Haqqate Enqlabe Saur, organ of the PDPA CC.

The main reason, which has led to the budgetary surplus is the rise in the revenue sources despite the undeclared war and other subversive actions of imperialism against the country, it says.

The revenues have increased by over 15 per cent in 1980 when compared with 1979 and by over 32 per cent when compared with 1978.

The share of the domestic sources in the revenue of 1980 is over 66 per cent higher than that of the preceding year and about 60 per cent higher when compared with 1978.

Revenues accruing to the state from credits and gratis consumer goods assistance have also risen in 1980-81. This rise is due to the ever-further participation of friendly countries in financing the state expenditures in order to further meet the needs of the people.

The total revenue of the state amounted to over 35,000 million Afghanis in 1359 HS (March 21, 1980 to March 20, 1981), which is 3.5 per cent higher than envisaged in the plan.

As much as 56.9 per cent of the state Budget in 1980 was composed of ordinary expenditures and 43.1 per cent of development expenditures. The share of development expenditures in 1980 was about 9 per cent higher than in the preceding year.

In 1360 HS (March 21, 1981 to March 20, 1982)

the total revenues of the state amounted to over Afs 40,000 million, over 29,000 million Afghanis of which came from domestic sources. The revenues from domestic sources in 1360 indicate an increase of 90 per cent and 14 per cent when compared with two preceding years respectively.

In 1360, 33.53 per cent of the total state expenditure was allocated for development and 66.41 per cent of it for regular expenditure. The allocated development expense in 1360 was 6.6 per cent higher than that of its preceding year.

Although Afs' 3.2 billion have been spent for assisting the working people, state employees and in the sphere of social services since 1980, the state Budget has shown a surplus of over Afs 3,000 million in 1980 and 650 million in 1981.

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 27 Jan 83 p 3

[Text]

"The thing for which my family members and I were waiting, is now at our disposal and from now on I am confident that all our miseries and misfortunes will be disappeared", 48 year-old Rahmduddin from the Deh Yahya village, Dehsabz district said in an interview to the Kabul New Times.

This peasant added that, "We people, facing many and hardships, are involved in cultivation of farmlands and livestock-breeding, just as our forefathers struggled for a mouthful of bread, clothing and essentials. Anywhere we found a few jeribs of farmland, we would lease and cultivate it so as to take one fourth of the harvest of the farmland and give the rest of it to the owner."

"I have always tried to earn the essential necessities for my family fulfilling my duties to my family members. Earlier my two sons and I used to request a landlord to give us a chance to cultivate his land. After he agreed we had to be very grateful to him and in the meantime a large portion of the harvest was taken by him at the end of each year."

Rahmduddin said "I remember the bitter experiences in my life during the earlier times. In spite of our hard work, day and night on the lands of feudals, we

were not able to get an adequate amount of foodstuff and other essentials for our family. Similarly I was not able to take part in the daily social affairs of the community in which I was living. All these deprivations and miseries have affected the memory and minds of all my family members for years. Because of these difficulties my family was living under a great pressure and we were waiting eagerly for a change of this situation."

Rahmduddin went on and said, "The only thing which put an end to all our miseries was the victory of the Saur Revolution, especially its new and evolutionary phase. Because as the revolutionary Government has stated in its policy, it is putting into practice all the promises given to the people and we can see with our own eyes that some of the progressive plans are implemented and some others will be implemented in the future. So we hope that nobody will live from now on under the terrible conditions which were prevailing at the time of the previous despotic regimes."

"Due to the principled policy of our party and the support of the party by the workers and the toiling people of the country, our peasants and hard working people will not come from now on

under the grip of the usurers and landlords".

"Fortunately, right now our popular Government implements its plans for the second phase of the land reforms and distribution in a country-wide scale and by implementing these plans many people like me will have their own land and they will overcome the problems of landlessness."

Rahmduddin, who is a resident of Dehyahya village did not own any farmland before. But now he has a title deed to eight jeribs of land and that is why he was working cheerful and happy.

"Now I am completely satisfied with what I have received, that is a piece of farmland which belongs to me. From now on, I will not be a victim to all kinds of miseries and problems which were impressed on me by the landlords and feudals."

Holding firmly the title deed to his land in his hand he said, "My happiness has a good reason. A person who has undergone various types of troubles, problems and hardships for getting a mouthful and is criticised by many feudals and landlords, he has the right to be happy when he becomes the owner of a piece of land for earning his life in a decent way."

He went on to say "As soon as I received the document to eight jerib land I immediately became a member of the cooperative in my village, Deh Yahya. It is the second year that I have been benefitted by getting chemical fertilisers, improved seeds of wheat and pesticides from the cooperative. By using these facilities, the agricultural products of my land has gone up and I have also made use of the mechanised sys-

tem of agriculture for a low rent."

The peasant expressed his joy for the private land he received and said, "This year I have sown the improved seeds of wheat (Mak-sipak type) in my farmland and I believe that I will have a good harvest in the coming year because of utilizing chemical fertilisers and pesticides."

At the end he said, "We peasants and workers can

realise with every passing day the importance of the implementation of the useful plans of the state for the well-being and prosperity of the people and blossoming the country. We pray for the strength of our Government and the elimination of its enemies. I will not forget the benevolence of the revolutionary state as long as I am alive."

Subsidy for Petroleum Consumption

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 31 Jan 83 p 1

[Text]

KABUL, January 31 (Bakhtar).—The Government has provided Afs 2 billion as subsidy for the petroleum products consumption of the public for the current Afghan year.

Over 300,000 litres of diesel and 200,000 litres of petrol and 100,000 litres of kerosene are being distributed daily.

This was stated by the vice-president of the trade and economic department of the oil and sugar general department in an interview to Bakhtar.

The department has a sufficient quantity of sugar in its godowns and the public can get sugar from the Government stores and commission-based private shops.

At present, around 200 tons of sugar are being sold through 47 Government stores and over 1,100 commission-based shops in the

Kabul city, according to the official.

"At present, there is enough quantity of petroleum products at the disposal of the Government", he added.

The distribution of petroleum products is proceeding in 10 pumping stations and the ministries, factories and hospitals are receiving additional supplies.

From the beginning of the current year (March 21, 1982) till Jaddi 1 (November 22), 126,000 tons (equivalent to 153,720,000 litres) of petroleum products including diesel, petrol and kerosene have been transferred to Kabul via Hairatan port.

Answering a question about the earlier shortage of petroleum products, he said: "The temporary shortage of petroleum products in the Kabul city was due to increasing consumption by bakeries, bath houses,

diesel stoves of families and diesel generators and the obstacles of the counter-revolution. But, these problems have been solved, with the serious attention given to them by our revolutionary Government."

"Over 500 tankers, including the transport vehicles of the Government sector and individuals, are engaged in transferring the petroleum products from the Hairatan to Kabul now. Our department in its framework, also has a transport department which manages the transport of petroleum products", he added.

Three hundred tankers, have been purchased from Czechoslovakia and montage work on them is in progress in the Jangalak Factories. The factories make ready two vehicles daily and put them at the petroleum transport service according to him

GOVERNMENT HOLDING NEW NEGOTIATIONS WITH SIKH AUTONOMISTS

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Jan 83 p 5

[Article by correspondent Patrick Frances]

[Text] New Delhi--Negotiations between representatives of the central government and Akali Dal leaders resumed Tuesday 18 January at Chandigarh, at the invitation of Interior Minister P. C. Sethi. Akali Dal is a local opposition party which, on behalf of a large portion of the Punjab's Sikh community, has for the last several months led a campaign agitating for increased Punjabi autonomy and the satisfaction of various sectarian demands. The government's initiative is in part explained by its concern not to alienate Delhi's big Sikh vote on the eve of the elections scheduled for 5 February. Also, following the electoral defeat Mrs Gandhi's Congress Party suffered in the south, the party feels it necessary to prove to the people that it at last intends to deal decisively with the crises confronting it. But this also means it will have to be prepared to deal with the discontent among leaders of the Punjab's neighboring states that would undoubtedly be provoked by a government move to satisfy the demands of the Sikh leaders regarding territorial claims or the problem of water rights in rivers in the area.

History of a Rebellion

They are turbaned and bearded, for they may neither shave nor cut their hair, which they keep in place with a wooden comb. They wear steel bracelet and sword (kirpan), or rather the modern-day equivalent--a small symbolic dagger. They are in the majority in the Punjab, in northern India, "the land of the five rivers," where they were first split up between the Indian portion and Pakistan in 1947 and then further divided when the Indian portion was cut into three states: the Punjab proper, where they are a majority and Punjabi is spoken; Haryana, in the south, and Himachal-Pradesh, in the north, where the Hindu are dominant.

Today there are some 12 million of them in the world, 10 million of whom live in India (making up barely 2 percent of the population), where 8 million reside in the Punjab. They are the Sikhs, that is the "disciples" of Nanak, their first guru (spiritual guide), who in the early part of the Sixteenth Century tried to integrate Hinduism and Islam into a new religion. Nanak believed among other things that men should turn away from fanaticism and intolerance and all live as brothers. While he insisted that the way to salvation was through faithful worship of one god, Sikh temples have always been open to all, without distinction of caste or creed.

Their fifth guru was to turn Amritsa, "the city of the golden temple," into their Rome and to bring together into one volume, the "Adi Granth," a collection of hymns, songs, and sacred texts of a mystical flavor. Incurring the hatred of the Great Mogul Jahangir, he was tortured to death, as was the sixth guru. The ninth was decapitated by the emperor Aurangzeb, an orthodox and sectarian Muslim.

His son, Gobind, the last of the gurus, then transformed the peaceful Sikh community into a military theocracy, the khalsa, or "community of the pure ones," and established "baptism by the sword," a war-like initiation ceremony.

Upon his death there began a bitter struggle between the Sikhs and the Mogul power which lasted until the end of the Eighteenth Century, when Ranjit Singh, heading a powerful army, extended his rule well beyond the borders of the Punjab. The English feared him. So they respected him. But almost immediately after his death a long period of hostilities began. In 1849 the Sikhs at last surrendered and solemnly turned over to the English the Koh-I-Nor diamond which had adorned Ranjit Singh's turban.

A proud and fine-looking people, the Sikhs are still found in large numbers in the Indian Army, just as they once were in the colonial army. Today, still drawn to the profession of soldiering, they are also found in the police force, but equally as businessmen, industrialists, landowners, and truck and taxi drivers. Almost none of them are beggars--nobility has its obligations!--and, quite exceptionally, [one has been] president of the Indian Union.

For several months now their leaders have been voicing demands and agitating, sending thousands of them to voluntarily get themselves arrested (some 25,000 are reportedly now in government prisons) and shaking the very pillar of the state. What, exactly, do they want?

A minority, united behind an extremist organization called Dal Khalsa, currently outlawed, goes so far as to call for an independent Sikh state, Khalistan, and to back it up with aircraft hijackings. This demand is being strongly opposed by the central government, which claims to see in it the intervention of a "foreign hand."

Charter of Discontent

Let down by a secularist independent India and by the Congress Party with which they had made common cause at the time of the partition in hopes of obtaining special status, Sikh leaders felt betrayed and soon began to call for the creation of a state in which they would be in the majority and Punjabi would be spoken. For reasons of national security (the region in question being on the strategic border with Pakistan), Nehru never yielded to the demand, though his daughter, Indira, finally did in 1966. At that time the Punjab was split up, the regions where the Hindu were dominant being put together as the state of Haryana.

This, however, was only a partial solution, which is why the current demands are being propagated, without forgetting the problem posed by Chandigarh, the common capital of the two states, which the Sikhs claim is theirs. And lying behind it all is the fear of the Sikhs that they will gradually be dominated and then assimilated in the Hindu community.

All the same, the demands that the Sikhs are making remain incomprehensible to many Indians. Are they not, in fact, one of the most prosperous communities in the country, ruling over "India's breadbasket," enriched by the "green revolution," and blessed with the highest per capita income in the Indian union? Also, there are political factors to be considered.

Thus, it has been noted that as soon as the local Sikh party, the Akali Dal, lost the local elections (in 1980, when Mrs Gandhi's party, the Congress Party, won a majority of the seats in the Chandigarh Assembly), Sikh leaders began to rediscover the virtues of the traditional demands (in particular the demand for increased autonomy at the state level) leveled at a central government accused of practicing "discriminatory" policies against the Punjab.

Today, the list of Sikh demands is known to everyone, and each espouses his favorites. For example, there is the famous resolution of Anandpur Sahib, adopted in October 1973 at an Akali convention--a resolution of which several different versions exist, which different factions cite as authoritative. A veritable charter of Sikh discontent, its principal demands are religious in nature: Delhi's non-interference in the affairs of the Sikhs, who want to exercise control over the principal Sikh holy places of the country from Amritsar, which is to be accorded the status of a holy city, and more broadcasting time on national radio to air their ceremonies, etc.

All these demands are "nonpolitical," and thus negotiable, and in the end acceptable to the central government, so long as most Sikh leaders dissociate themselves more or less openly from the cause of an independent Khalistan.

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CSO: 10/17/83

IRAN

MINISTER DISCUSSES LAND DISTRIBUTION DURING VISIT

Tehran FTTALA'AT in Persian 29 Jan '83 p 4

- [text] The farmers of Sistan asked the minister of agriculture for more resources for agricultural development.

Zahedan: Thursday morning, Mr Salamati, the minister of agriculture of our country, arrived in Zahedan along with two of the deputies of that ministry and two of the representatives of the people of Zahedan and Zabol to the Majlis, who were welcomed by the director general and the officials of the central agricultural office of the province.

At Zahedan Airport, Mr Salamati said in an interview with the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT concerning the purpose of his visit: The brothers and ministers have been assigned to travel to the provinces to study their social and economic problems and report them to the Cabinet so that they can be acted upon and solved and so that the ministers will be able to follow them up. Therefore, representing the concerned brother ministers, on this trip, I will study the social, political and economic issues of the Province of Sistan and Baluchestan and report them to the Cabinet.

The Transfer of Barren Land

Concerning Article 1 of the land revitalization and the transfer of lands to the farmers, the minister of agriculture said: In regards to the transfer of barren lands, it will be acted upon in accordance with the law ratified by the Revolution Council. The transfer of these lands will be carried out by the seven-member committee until, God willing, a new law in a new form is ratified by the Majlis. After such ratification, it will take the place of the present law. Presently, Articles A and B are implemented in the region under conditions and in the non-temporary, as well as, priority to local ownership. Brothers, we will try to get the law ratified as soon as possible and let the farmers of the province know the results of the law.

with the law, land is also transferred to individuals and this is done at the discretion of the seven-member committees.

Concerning the revitalization of Hamun Lake, Mr Salamati said: This lake can be strengthened in terms of its stock of fish and ability to provide food and this issue is being studied in terms of how this task might be carried out.

Concerning the revitalization of the agricultural barren lands in Baluchestan Region, the minister of agriculture said: Fortunately, the committees for land transfer, the offices affiliated with agriculture and the Reconstruction Crusade have accomplished many useful tasks. A large area of land has been cultivated. This will certainly be continued and persons who are ready to work in the area of agriculture will be absorbed. God willing, we will be able to raise the [production of agricultural] commodities more than ever before in this way so that in the future, this province will become self-sufficient in terms of food. It might also become an exporter and, God willing, this goal is not too far off.

According to the report of the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT, Mr Salamati and his companions left immediately for the city of Zabol.

The Request of the Sistan Farmers

In addition, according to a report by the IRNA, Mr Salamati, the minister of agriculture and rural development, continuing his visit to the Province of Sistan and Baluchestan, accompanied by the governor general of the Province of Sistan and Baluchestan, the representative of the people of Zahedan to the Majlis and the director general of agriculture and rural development of the Province left for the Sistan Region.

During the visit of the minister of agriculture to the center for rural services of "Mohammadabad," outside of Zabol, the head of the central headquarters of rural services of that city presented a report on the operations of this center.

According to this report, among the services of the rural service center of Zabol were the clearing of more than 1,100 km of the streams of the Sistan Region since the beginning of spring, with the efforts and assistance of the farmers in the region, the cultivation of 9,500 hectares of uncultivated land, the creation of 282 bridge openings, the laying of gravel on and repair of 34 km of rural roads, the completion of 6 storehouses for fodder with a 200-ton capacity, the leveling of 844 hectares of agricultural land and the distribution of 1,400 tons of barley among the livestock raisers of the region.

Then the representative of the people of Kabul to the Majlis spoke about the completion of the water outreach network in this city, which is one of the fundamental agricultural issues, studying the procurement of fodder for livestock from the plants in Hamun Lake, providing more resources and personnel for the rural service centers and establishing agricultural schools as well as focusing more attention on animal husbandry in this region.

Then the farmers explained their problems and difficulties and asked for more resources for agricultural development as well as improved seeds.

After the noon prayers, the Minister of Agriculture and his companions, along with Hajjat ol-Eslam Sarani, the Friday Imam of Kabul, and Hajjat ol-Eslam Masavi, the Shor' administrator of that city, visited the earthen flood dams around Hamun Lake which are under construction and also the border station of Naki.

After the evening prayers, the minister of agriculture participated in a session held in the Office of the Governor of Kabul to study the agricultural problems and difficulties of the Fistan region.

Visit to the House of Afghan Brothers

According to a report by the Central NEWS Unit, Mr Salarati, the Minister of Agricultural and Rural Development, accompanied by two of the deputies of this Ministry, the governor general of Kabul and Mullahs, the representative of the people of Kandahar to the Majlis and several officials of the province, visited the various parts of the camp of the Afghan Brothers in Kandahar.

In this visit, Mr Salarati spoke with the Afghan brothers in Kandahar. He said: We hope Islam will also govern Afghanistan and this will be able to greatly place all the other countries in step with the Islamic Republic of Iran, under the joint influence of this Islamic revolution and Islamic ideology. Then, the Minister of Agriculture and his companions visited the court yard and met the headquarters of Kandahar.

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BANI-SADR SEES KHOMEYNI'S RULE ENDING

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 pp 6, 7

[Text] In "days, weeks or months to come," former Islamic republic president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr predicted at a press conference in Paris to introduce his latest book, entitled "Hopes Betrayed," this week, the people of Iran would prove that they would not accept what Khomeini is trying to impose on them.

"It was a marvellous revolution (in 1979)", he told the pressmen. "I am certain that the people of Iran will succeed in their fight to regain what they have temporarily lost."

Bani-Sadr said Khomeini was not a "Satan" at the outset of the revolution and was sincerely against involving himself in affairs of state. But he became progressively more devilish, reimposing despotism on the people of Iran and turning on Bani-Sadr, who had been elected by the people. In Paris he and Khomeini had had "liberal discourse", and it was only in Tehran that the ayatollah had changed his tune.

"Now Khomeini has again changed his camp", Bani-Sadr said. "He has left the fundamentalists to go over to the managers".

The ayatollah had finally realised how grave his situation was. But as in the case of the Shah before him it was too late, Bani-Sadr contended. Khomeini had, in fact, admitted his failure. The people had been with the mullahs at the outset but this had changed completely.

"When a country is run in the name of an ideology, no matter whether it is marxism, Islam or anything else, then you are bound to get dictatorship", Bani-Sadr told a questioner.

He said that it was Khomeini who had created the revolutionary courts. Bani-Sadr denied he had ordered the execution of previous leaders who fled after the revolution took over. "I tried by all means to prevent this, not because I liked them, but out of respect for a man's rights and for the right of the Iranian people to know what happened under the Shah," he said. "It was counter-revolutionaries who made these charges against me."

The former president went on to say that nobody, not even the late Shah, had had as much power as he (Bani-Sadr) had had when he was head of state. He had controlled the armed forces, the police and all the other forces and so if he had had to agree to be removed then it was to be faithful to his own ideals. This was something of which he was very proud.

He dismissed the opposition groups outside the National Council of Resistance as insignificant, saying they had been swept away altogether by the revolution. The Mojahedin were a genuine opposition because they were a force inside the country.

At the outset of the press conference, the chairman introduced Bani-Sadr's book by saying it had not received the welcome it should have.

CSO: 4600/322

BANI-SADR TALKS ABOUT QOTBZADEH, SHAH, KHOMEYNI, OPPOSITION

Istanbul MIDDLE EAST REVIEW in English Jan 83 pp 16-18

[Article by Tansu Saritayli]

[Text]

MIDDLE EAST REVIEW's Tansu Saritayli interviewed former Iranian President, Beni Sadr, who is now living in exile in Paris.

It was an isolated district where all the roads were asphalt and in good repair but for one narrow road five hundred metres long, where holes had been dug in the asphalt and wire netting 5-6 metres high lined the road. At the entrance to this street was a sign reading "No vehicles permitted", perplexing passersby who did not know the reason.

If one wants to see the man who once ruled Iran and once walked on precious Persian carpets, one must now brave a dusty road, barbed wire and guards armed with sten guns.

Beni Sadr was Iran's first president following the downfall of the Shah, and handpicked by Khomeini. Yet now Sadr is Khomeini's most bitter enemy, and the hunted target of his revolutionary guards. Sadr had prepared the referendum plans with Khomeini in Paris, and was received with high hopes in Iran. Yet after only a short spell in presidential office he was forced to flee to France.

When I arrived to keep my appointment with Beni Sadr at his home in a northern suburb of Paris one rainy Friday, I was met by jandarme guards who escorted me to the entrance where more guards took charge of me. Only after a top to toe search was I admitted through the gate. As the sound of code numbers and words crackling over the radios receded be-

hind me I found myself this time at a civilian guard post where I was searched with an electronic gadget. Eventually Beni Sadr's press advisors admitted me to a reception room, whose walls were lined entirely with books. The press advisors showed me documents relating to Iran-identity cards of minors executed by Khomeini and photographs of prisoners who had been tortured. Suddenly one set of bookshelves swung open and through this hidden door stepped Sadr. He welcomed me in fluent Turkish and I likened the ordeal of reaching his presence to crossing the Sirat Bridge. He replied that Khomeini's Pastrans had been promised a place in paradise for killing him. Then we settled down to our interview on the subject of present day Iran, Iraq and the Middle East.

SARITAYLI: Could you give me a brief autobiography?

SADR: I was born in Hamadan in the northwest of Iran, of Turkish speaking parents. I was educated in France and subsequently lived there as an opponent of the Shah's regime. For many years I lived far from my homeland awaiting the downfall of the Shah's regime. Finally, when a referendum was held in Iran I returned together with Khomeini and was elected President by an overwhelming majority of the Iranian people. I remained in office until Khomeini revealed his true colours. In time I realised that Khomeini was not really an upholder of Islam and when I began

to oppose his illogical decisions and the Mullahs, from being his most trusted supporter I became his bitterest opponent and enemy. Sympathisers in the Iranian army assisted my escape to France and I now spend my time planning a happy and powerful Iranian state of the future.

S: What is your view of the execution of Sadik Kutbzade?

SADR: You might ask me what difference there is between Khomeini and Stalin or Khomeini and Hitler. As you know, Hitler killed German Jews and burned them in ovens. Stalin too killed thousands and even millions of innocent people, a large proportion of whom were of different racial origin, including many Turks from Azerbaijan and Turkistan. Khomeini, however, is slaughtering and viciously stifling his own countrymen in his thirst for blood.

Kutbzade lived in exile from the Shah's regime for twenty years. Following the Shah's flight he returned to Iran on the same plane as Khomeini. Like myself, he was for a time Khomeini's right hand man. Following the referendum in Iran he served on the Revolutionary Council, and after the occupation of the US Embassy in Teheran became Foreign Minister. He remained in this post until former Prime Minister Ali Rezaei, who was assassinated, came to power. His support for myself and opposition to the six policies of Khomeini led to a split between him and Ali Rezaei, who maliciously slandered him. The civil strife in Iran is escalating daily and has reached formidable proportions, while the Mullahs are pitilessly slaughtering the Iranian people.

According to reports I have received, the execution of Kutbzade led to unrest among the Azeri Turks in Tabriz and its environs, and no decision has yet been reached on the fate of the Ayatollah Kazim Shariatmedani who is alleged by Khomeini to have supported Kutbzade. The supporters of Shariatmedani and the Azeri Turks are silently awaiting the next move. The words of one of Iran's religious leaders, the Ayatollah Mehdi Bazargan, are of interest here. He said that the Iranian people are not yet ready to accept the execution of Kutbzade. He said that the Iranian people are not yet ready to accept the execution of Kutbzade.

violates the teaching of the Koran and the Islamic religion. I was extremely moved by this defence of Kutbzade. I can only say that it was a great loss, and our friend will be called to account for it.

S: Iran has refused to admit French diplomats to Iran because France granted you political asylum. What are your thoughts on this matter?

SADR: This situation began with the withdrawal from Iran of French Ambassador Guy Georgy. As time went on French-Iranian relations became increasingly tense. A year later France appointed Joseph Paoli as ambassador to Teheran but the Iranian Foreign Minister has declared that it will not accept this appointment, on the grounds that France is following a policy hostile to the Muslim Iranian people; has granted me political asylum; and is harbouring terrorists and counter-revolutionaries. Khomeini is forgetting that he owes his present position to the French, who allowed him to reside in France while in exile. He does not mention Britain and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher because it is not in his interests to do so.

S: What are your views on the death of Brezhnev and the future politics of Russia's new Head of State?

SADR: Whatever Brezhnev said about peace and disarmament was no more than empty rhetoric. Under Brezhnev the Soviet Union was increasingly active, as in Afghanistan, as in Poland, and as in other countries where Brezhnev was responsible for civil turbulence.

I cannot believe that his successor will be more moderate, because in the communist countries the powerful have the last say. He who is powerful who has the greater number of informants and spies is secure.

The wheels will turn as they always have done in Russia, and of the large numbers who are crushed in its machinations, only a few will be able to make their voice heard. A group of unwary and pitiful people will go on singing Russia's praises as they walk the streets of free countries. Time will show, but as long as the economic crisis continues Russia cannot, and should not be expected to, display goodwill or remain silent.

S: It is said that the Iranian people have begun to regret the passing of the

Shah's regime. Do you think this is true?

SADR: I do not believe it. I cannot imagine anyone thinking that. Because Khomeini's present regime is of such proportions as to compensate and more for the loss of the Shah. But the Shah murdered quietly and also smuggled money out of Iran to increase the already vast wealth of his family. In order to make yet more and more fortunes he tyrannised his people. Now Khomeini is declaring, in the name of Islam, all patriotic Iranians who disagree with his senile way of thinking to be his enemies, and has declared himself to be Caliph. Is it possible to revive the Caliphate at the end of the twentieth century? In Turkey, where Atatürk abolished the Caliphate, does anyone show disrespect for Atatürk's laws? It is no more than a crude delusion of a mere handful of Khomeini's supporters. I cannot believe that the Iranian people will ever mourn the Shah's regime, but they are undoubtedly seeking the means of getting rid of Khomeini, who is an anti-Islamist and a true enemy of Islam.

S: What is your opinion of the war between Iran and Iraq? Who began it?

SADR: This war has been continuing for over two years and has cost tens of thousands of Iranians and Iraqis their lives. I do not think the war will end until Khomeini is overthrown. If you do not mind I will go into this subject in greater detail and examine the facts. When the Shah's regime came to an end the Shah's former Prime Minister Shahpur Bahtiyar and Tudeh Party Chairman Nurettin Kianuri were greatly disturbed and launched a relentless battle against our regime. Shahpur Bahtiyar joined forces with Iraq and began to activate against Iran. Today Bahtiyar has a special radio station in Baghdad with which he broadcasts to Iran while Iran is at war with Iraq. Draw your own conclusions. As for the Tudeh Party, Nurettin Kianuri is from the same mould as Afghanistan's Head of State Babrak Karmal. He is busy plotting a Russian invasion of Iran or working out how to get Iran to join Russia.

Iraqi Head of State Saddam Hussein has reneged the Algerian Agreement signed by him and Shah Riza

Pehlevi in 1975 with the mediation of former Algerian Minister of State Bumedyen. Under this agreement Iran was granted free right of passage over the Shatt-Al Arab waterway, while in return Iran was to close its northern borders to prevent Kurdish guerillas crossing into Iraq and stop the payments then being made to Barzani.

Following the signing of the agreement Iraq was to give Iran some land at the point where the Tigris and Euphrates rivers meet at the Shatt-al Arab waterway, which is Iran's most important oil exporting route from Abadan. The main *casus belli* is known to be the struggle to gain supremacy in the Basra Gulf. Under the agreement Iran had won certain rights with the agreement of Iraq. Later Iraq, believing Iran to be intoxicated by the referendum at home, and ignoring the agreement, joined forces with the renegade Iranians and declared war on Iran on September 22nd 1980. As I said before, the war will continue until Khomeini is overthrown, because war is the only solution to the economic crisis and unemployment in Iran.

Each day Khomeini discovers new anniversaries of past incidents to celebrate, to keep up the morale of the Iranian people. It is a method of doping. He is celebrating for example the anniversary of the first arrest of the American hostages, in an attempt to divert the attention of the Iranian people from the facts of economic crisis and domestic turmoil. Let us see how long this ploy will continue to work. S: The endless stream of executions in Iran is Khomeini's work, but you are partially responsible for his rise to power. Do you feel any guilt for the present situation in Iran?

SADR: That is a difficult question to answer. Who could have guessed that Khomeini was a cunning and surreptitious foe of Islam? How could I guess at the existence of a crocodile in the guise of an Ayatollah? Or that he was a dictator and senile despot plotting against the Islamic state? At that time I felt immense love and respect for him and these sentiments soared higher each day. Now does even a particle of that love and respect remain? I do not think so, and today none can speak to Khomeini of anything but malice and condemnation.

I do feel a certain guilt, yet at least the Iranian people, whom the Shah

S: In entering Afghanistan did the Soviet Union exploit the civil strife in Iran?

5: If Khomeini were to die or be toppled who is his most likely successor in your view? And if you become Iran's president again what type of regime will you adopt?

When I make a plan, democracy is without question the regime I will implement. I will not bother with secularism. I consider an Islamic state which respects freedom more appropriate. The state I have tried and do not benefit from, I am not considering a return to the old regime.

SADR that depends on the attitude of those neighbours. To balance what should relations with an upstart neighbour such as Iraq be like? This balance depends on circumstances. There will be a certain relationship between Saddam Hussein, the United States and the Soviet Union. There will be a certain relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. There will be a certain relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. There will be a certain relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As for our trade relations, I am aware that the volume of trade between Iran and Turkey is considerable. In the future, long-term agreements can increase this volume still further.

SADR. As a journalist, you must be following closely the developments in Iraq and the Iranian press. Ali Khamenei has put forward certain pre-conditions for an end to the fighting, among which is the surrender of Iraq, Head of State Saddam Hussein, as a war criminal, and the payment in Iraq of 150 billion dollars as war reparation. He has also threatened the Arab coalition supporting Iraq to demand considerable sum of money and threaten Iraq friends were reasonable and amicable solution found or Iraq would mean it is way towards Iran at the Mahab. Furthermore, Ali Khamenei (et al) announced that the Judea Party will be officially established, demands to give them the green light flows from Kuwait that the same Judea Party arrested Iraqi national temp in 1991, getting autonomy to ethnic minorities and established the Mahab Freedom State in 1994, investigation and was the last organizer of the uprising in the Judea and was captured. Are you not the same Judea Party? Khamenei and the other religious leaders are the same Judea Party? Khamenei and the other religious leaders are the same Judea Party? Khamenei and the other religious leaders are the same Judea Party?

either Russia or America? The logic which prefers to spill the blood of Iranians rather than earn petro-dollars cannot be expected to choose any other administrative style.

S: Do you keep a close eye on your opponents outside Iran? What are your views of their activities?

SADR: Most of those who cooperated to bring Khomeini to power at the start of 1979 were disillusioned and are now opponents of the regime like myself. As you know, within and without Iran are many large and small political groups. Let us take a brief look at these groups and their role in the political scene. The Islamic Party Republican was founded by the Ayatollah Muhammed Behsheti, who died in a bomb explosion at its Tengeran headquarters on June 28th. This party is run by Mullahs favouring Khomeini and certain inexperienced people. The now deceased Prime Minister Muhammed Cevat Bahonar was a chairman of this party. Its members include the Hocateulislam Ali Ekber, Hashemi Rafsencani and the Ayatollah Abdulkerim Musavi. They not only support the Caliphate but are so primitive minded as to consider replacing modern buildings with tents, and argue for a ban on western style toilets. Since they aim to shoulder the pastran "police" duties they wear black clothing and have undertaken to enforce fasting during Ramadan or to inform the Revolutionary Guards of those who do not fast during Ramadan which is injurious to the Islamic religion. These people will fall when Khomeini falls.

The Tudeh Party is led by Dr Yurettin Kianuri and holds passionate pro-Soviet sentiments. It is attempting to gather certain anti-Khomeini leftist groups under its roof and constitutes a grave threat to Iran in the future.

The Peoples Combatants is the largest of the opposition groups and the chief foe of the Khomeini regime.

It is Khomeini's greatest rival and a cause of sleepless nights to him. As you know, I came to Paris with the leader of this group and I hope that we will return to Iran together. Claims that it is an amalgam of Islam and Marxism are false. They are a powerful group of strong convictions.

The Hisbullah claims to be God's party. It has connections with the IRP and under its roof are gathered all the fanatics who support Khomeini. It has no clear leader and will be as much a threat to Turkey as to Khomeini.

The People's Volunteers are a minority group of guerillas of Marxist-Leninist persuasion led by Hamit Sheybani. Their structure is such as to enable them to engage in all types of pro-Soviet activity with ease.

The Peykar is also a Marxist-Leninist group, which originally cooperated with the People's Combatants against Khomeini, but later split into two groups, one the Leykar, which demanded freedom for working groups, and is led by Muhammed Ahmediyan. The Peykar is at present led by Hussein Aladpush. Both groups are opposed to Khomeini.

The National Front is a moderate socialist party founded by a former Iranian Prime Minister, Mohammed Musaddik. Shahpur Bahtiyar was at one time number one man in this party. It is presently led by Kerim Sencabi. It is an ineffective group.

Shahpur Bahtiyar was once a Shah loyalist, then a National Front member, and now claims to be a social democrat. He is in exile like myself, and solely to blame for the outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq.

The supporters of the Shah and his son no longer constitute a threat now that the Shah is dead. It is inconceivable that the Pehlevis or their sympathisers should ever regain power. That is all.

S: Thankyou

SADR: Thankyou

MUSAVI COMMENTS ON SADDAM'S PROPOSAL OF MEETING WITH HIM

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES 11 Dec 1980 10:00 AM

[Text]

TEHRAN - Prime Minister Mir Husain Musavi, in a press interview yesterday afternoon said that Saddam's latest suggestion for a personal meeting with Imam Khomeini was yet another exercise in public deception.

Musavi was referring to an interview last week in which Saddam had said that he is ready to go to Tehran and meet Imam Khomeini if that would help to end the war.

Musavi said that Saddam's words were only meant to deceive the public through-out the world and to master the minds of the Iranian government and people.

Musavi said that the Islamic Revolution is a new era, a new era of justice and freedom, and that the Islamic Revolution is a new era of justice and freedom.

Musavi said that the Islamic Revolution is a new era of justice and freedom, and that the Islamic Revolution is a new era of justice and freedom. He said that the Islamic Revolution is a new era of justice and freedom, and that the Islamic Revolution is a new era of justice and freedom.

for the IRGC, though it will by no means affect the war operations." Musavi said that such martyrdoms have always strengthened the determination of the people who run the IRGC and all other revolutionary organs.

Pointing out to the deficient distribution of kerosene in the regions affected by the cold wave, he said that reason was the unexpected degree of cold that had hit some regions. He cited the bottlenecks caused by war and the restricted capacity at the ports as other causes that aggravated the distribution problem.

Musavi said that the government was talking to the Iranian Railways to assist in the distribution process.

He said, "Since I am myself from Azarbaijan, I know the problems of winter specially for the children and older people. The people who bear with the winter conditions are performing a self-sacrifice which is a model for other nations in bearing hardships in struggle against oppression."

RAFSANJANI SYRIZA: A NECESSITY OF INTELLIGENCE OF MANICATING

Journal of Interpersonal Violence 27(16) 3035-3052

4th, Mervat is the training cadre of the intelligence unit of the Israeli Corps for with Major al-Folar Hassani-Karimani, the speaker of the House.

According to the report by the IRNA, in this visit, Hojjat ul-Islam Hassan - Jafarizadeh explained the characteristics of the Islamic intelligence organization, calling the existence of such an intelligence organization necessary in the Islamic government, and said: At the dawn of Islam, much importance was placed upon the factor of intelligence and information gathering. However, since the need for an intelligence organization was not felt in the Islamic Republic until recently, we did not engage in the practical aspects of organizing intelligence, although certain individuals had taken the prior steps and to date, we have had very good experience.

TABATABAI'S ARMS, OIL, OPIUM DEALS DETAILED

Vienna PHOTO in German 24 Jan 83 p 41

[Text] Al-Sayni's army received 500 T-72 Soviet tanks not from the Russians but from the Israelis, who had captured them from the PLO and Syrian troops in Lebanon. The price was 700 million [Austrian] schillings and was paid in the form of discounted oil.

In order to facilitate the traces of this astounding deal across the ideological frontiers, a Swiss firm, Draycott Trading & Finance Ltd, with headquarters in Fribourg, was engaged. According to a report in the London magazine MONEY LAST, the deal was concluded 2 August 1982. At that time 100,000 British soldiers of faith were en route to Lebanon to fight against Israel.

The price of the Iranian oil was 26 to 27 dollars a barrel, the Swiss received 22-dollar concession per barrel, and so the Iranians had discounted the world market price of 33 to 34 dollars by one-third.

The latter group of Draycott, Lovat McDonald, attended the first contact talks at the Reform Hotel President in April 1981. The talks were first attended by "Luigi Tabataba'i, Italian rightist terrorist and arms dealer (alias: Belle Indue) and Zurich oil broker Hans Albert Kunz.

himself as a man of deals with Iran but also administers the wealth of the family. Later Admiral Ian Lewis something that does not seem to bother the British. Incidentally, Kunt was also the last host of Italian agent Roberto Calvi during his escape to London in mid-June last year. Calvi, head of the Ambrosiano Bank, fled to London leaving debts of 1.5 billion dollars.

trained (and still is) as a young neofascist in Italy. He is credited with being the wirepuller of almost all major fascist activities in the U.S. In the meantime he was the spider in the web of the U.S. extreme rightist terrorism.

Through the good offices of Khomeini's son-in-law Javad Ali, Delle Chiaie managed to open an arms deals office in Tehran, which later was closed at the instigation of President Razi-Sadr. The latter confirmed to the Zurich WOODSWORTH during his exile in Paris the leading role of Delle Chiaie in the Israeli-Iranian arms deal.

One of the first actions in this deal was the delivery of tank parts and ammunition worth 14 million dollars in 1981. The transport was handled by a Swiss firm, Sati AG of Zug, by using Argentinian charter planes. One of these flights stopped in Soviet territory, and this made the deal known internationally.

Another arms deal resulted from the taking hostage of three British persons by the Revolutionary Guards early in 1981. They were released again in spring 1981 against the delivery of anti-tank missiles worth 50 million [Austrian] schillings. The freight forwarder in this case was an affiliate of the well-known Swiss freight-forwarding firm Kuehne & Nagel. The involved British arms dealers Michael Aspin and Ian Hammond, something like national heroes in this case, later were sentenced to 6 and 9 months' imprisonment, respectively, for having supplied the same stuff to South Africa - the export of arms to that country being illegal.

The organizer of all Iranian arms transports is the 40-year-old biochemistry PhD Sadegh Tabataba'i, one of the closest confidantes of Imam Khomeini. When the leader of the revolution returned to Iranian soil again in February 1979, his son-in-law Tabataba'i was only a few steps behind him. The hopeful young man soon became government spokesman and deputy prime minister, and from November 1979 to September 1980 even acting head of government. Having studied in London and Berlin, he was the ideal man to establish an arms ring in West Europe.

In London he founded the firm Batec Ltd. and extended his strings to Zurich, Düsseldorf and Vienna. In a SPIEGEL interview Tabataba'i freely admitted that he had been recruited to "procure arms via abnormal routes and at very high excessive prices." (14) He visited Belgium, France and German submarines, weapons etc. (15).

One of these purchases conducted with Swiss businessmen in Germany in mid-1981 did not come off. The Swiss were to deliver 40 Pz. 89-40 battle tanks for 2 million dollars. But the deal was aborted. (16) The 70 percent of the amount, 1.4 million dollars, had already been paid. The firm was not able to deliver the tanks. (17) The deal was not a success. (18) The deal was not a success. (19)

Tabataba'i is the son of the late leader. (20) He was not a member of the Revolutionary Guards. (21) He was not a member of the Revolutionary Guards. (22) He was not a member of the Revolutionary Guards. (23)

Tabataba'i is the son of the late leader. (24) He was not a member of the Revolutionary Guards. (25) He was not a member of the Revolutionary Guards. (26) He was not a member of the Revolutionary Guards. (27)

released on bail for the time being. Denying everything, Tabataba'i declared that the stuff was a dowry from enemies of Khomeyni's. [In German the word for "dowry" can jocularly be construed as meaning "poison to accompany one."]

There might also be rivalry involved on the German side. Minister of the Interior Zimmermann is a member of the CSU [Christian Social Union], which would like nothing better than to get rid of Genscher and his FDP [Free Democratic Party]. As the friend of an opium and gun merchant, Genscher does not make a good impression in the election campaign.

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at the head of the government of Iraq and the existence of such a dependent regime would prevent the establishment of a strong front between Iran and the Arabs against the occupying regime in Jerusalem, because Saddam has shown, especially with his recent actions, that [Iraq] has strong ties and relations with Israel. He has even stated that the security of Israel must be guaranteed. Well, it is the Muslim and Arab countries which must shout that their security is being threatened by Israel. Even after the attack of Israel on Lebanon, the slaughter of thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese Muslims, the destruction of cities and villages and the elimination by the Israeli forces of many signs of life in Lebanon, Saddam Huseyn said that we must guarantee the security of Israel. This shows that the claim of the Islamic Republic of Iran since years past that the regime of Saddam is a dependent regime has been truthful and correct. Hence, another motivation is to fight the regime of Iraq, about which these three countries agree. All three countries also agree that Iran must continue the war against the regime of Iraq. All three countries support the efforts of the people of Iraq to overthrow the regime of Iraq and establish a government in conformity with the wishes of the people of Iraq. All three countries agree that the steadfastness front must be revitalized, but this time, with the participation of Iran, and that on the whole, that there are two essential and basic focuses, one is the issue of Lebanon, Palestine and confrontation with the occupying regime of Jerusalem and another, the issue of the imposed war of Iraq against Iran and the way to confront it.

Participation of Iran in the Steadfastness Front

In connection with the participation of Iran in the steadfastness front, the foreign minister of our country said: Iran has declared its position and the other two countries have also declared their agreement, emphasizing that Iran become a member of this front. But, naturally, the practical steps ahead for Iran's joining this front have not yet been completed. We are trying to reach that stage, God willing. This is our wish and the welcome agreement of those two countries concerning this issue. Then, Dr Velayati continued responding to the question, adding:

Of course, we three countries who had agreed earlier met together. But, the meeting of the three countries of Iran, Syria and Libya does not imply the negation of others nor does it suggest their lack of commitment.

What is certain is that the necessary contacts continue with other sides, such as South Yemen and Algeria as well as those parts of the PLO that reject any kind of compromise solution.

Joint Positions

In response to the question of AJFILA'AT concerning the participation of Iran in the steadfastness front, Dr Velayati said: Our close relations with governments such as Syria, Libya and South Yemen provides the grounds for an alliance against Israel, those who support Israel and those who want to compromise the Palestinian issue. The political, economic and cultural cooperation among the countries I mentioned, such as Iran, Syria, Libya, South Yemen and Algeria, is worth recounting and explaining.

Presently, our relations with these countries are developing and expanding. Our positions in the international assemblies in regard to the issues concerning Palestine and the imposed war of Iraq against us and Lebanon are generally common positions and are carried out with perfect coordination. Furthermore, during this imposed war, countries such as Syria and Libya have given us the help necessary, as much as has been possible for them. I need to mention that in return, whenever they have faced any aggression, they have been politically and even occasionally militarily supported by Iran. Our sending forces to Syria and stationing them in Syria during the Israeli invasion on Lebanon demonstrates our deep ties with Syria. In that war, Iran was the only country to send its organized forces to Syria.

Adding up all these actions and the mutual assistance in emergency and urgent situations, we realize that practical steps have been taken towards close relations. Furthermore, God willing, these meetings will be repeated in the future and the other parties with objectives in common with us regarding the issues will join us and we will have even better results.

Negotiations between the Governments of Lebanon and the Zionist Regime

In connection with the negotiations between the governments of Lebanon and the Zionist regime, Dr Velayati said: We do not think that the people of Lebanon will accept agreements which will result in enslavement and domination, even if such negotiations continue. The progressive Arab countries, such as Syria and Libya, also oppose such negotiations. We believe that these negotiations, in fact, act to spread Camp David, adding links to its enslaving chain. We are certain that the people of Lebanon will not accept such an agreement on paper.

In response to a question concerning the rumors about the relations between Syria and Iraq, the minister of foreign affairs of our country said: What has been discussed as reconciliation between Syria and Iraq in some of the Western media is untrue. Issuing a joint communique between Iran, Libya and Syria,

devoting some paragraphs in it to the imposed war, emphasis on the support for the Muslim people of Iraq against the regime of Saddam, emphasis on the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is right and emphasis on supporting the Islamic Republic until its conditions are met, in my opinion, negates these rumors.

The Jordanian-Palestinian Confederation

In regards to the possibility of establishing a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, Dr Velayati said: As far as we know, the people of Palestine, the residents of occupied lands and the Palestinian fighters outside Palestine generally oppose the establishment of this confederation, or better, federation. Many of the high ranking officials in the PLO also oppose this issue. We think that those who permit themselves to indulge in such actions as representatives of the Palestinian people shall soon realize that the path they have followed does not conform to the wishes of the decisive majority of the Palestinian people and many of the high ranking officials of the PLO. Such efforts are doomed to failure.

Support for the Goals of the People of Afghanistan

In regards to the Afghanistan issue and the directives of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri to the combative Afghan clergy, the minister of foreign affairs of our country said:

Since the beginning of the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan, we have taken a very decisive position and we still hold this position. We believe that the people of Afghanistan must determine their own destiny. The occupying Soviet forces must leave Afghanistan. The Afghan refugees who are in Iran, Pakistan and other places must, of their own volition, given full respect and without fear of being persecuted, return to their country. The people of Afghanistan must be free to chose their own destiny. Furthermore, it is the people of Afghanistan who must make an effort to save their country. Since Afghanistan is an Islamic country and has many cultural, religious, ethnic and historical similarities with Iran, it is to be expected that and it is natural for the leadership of the struggles of this Muslim nation which deeply believes in Iran to be in the hands of the clergy. The Iranian experience has shown that there is no other way. Otherwise, there is a possibility of being misguided towards the left or the right. We support this goal which was stated by Ayatollah Montazeri. Given the facilities that the Islamic Republic of Iran has put at the disposal of the Afghan refugees who have lost their hearth and home, having accepted them and placed them in the open arms of our nation, I think that this is the best practical proof of our support for the goals of the Muslim people of Afghanistan.

Concerning the programs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the decade of 75 Year, Dr Velayati said: The policy making council for foreign propaganda has conferred the issue of propaganda abroad on the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides any sort of facility within its capacity needed by the implementary organizations. Furthermore, our embassies will, God willing, have programs to celebrate the decade of 75 in the best possible manner and introduce the Islamic revolution to various countries.

The Future Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in New Delhi

Then, he was asked about the plans of the Islamic Republic for the next conference of the non-aligned countries in New Delhi. Dr Velayati responded: The Islamic Republic of Iran intends, God willing, to participate on a high, expansive and effective level in the next meeting of the leaders of the non-aligned countries in New Delhi. Since many months ago, we have taken steps to better coordinate ourselves with countries with which we share common political positions in various areas. Travels have been made which will continue in the future.

In the meeting of foreign ministers in Nicaragua, steps were taken to hold numerous other meetings with a significant number of foreign ministers and heads of delegations. We and our friends offered many proposals for this meeting which were discussed. At the present time, there are work groups in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to help prepare for this meeting, God willing.

We believe that the meeting in New Delhi will be a very important one, unprecedented in the history of the non-aligned movement. Based on our information, the leaders of more than 80 countries will take part in the meeting, which is something unheard of in the gatherings of the United Nations. About 100 countries are members of the non-aligned organization and presently, many other countries are applying for membership in the non-aligned organization. As time passes, the Third World countries are showing an increased tendency to work in organizations which are not influenced by the superpowers. You realize that the United Nations, in spite of its history, record, comprehensiveness and inclusiveness, has never seen this number of leaders of countries participate in even its important meetings--of course, in proportion to the number of members. In the meeting held recently with high level Indian officials, this figure was verified and it was stated that a larger number would possibly participate. Soon, perhaps in the course of the next few days, God willing, we will have a meeting with Mr Singh, the first Deputy of the Indian Foreign Ministry, who is in charge of organizing the non-aligned conference in Delhi.

The Visit of the United Nations Representative to Resolve the Afghanistan Issue

In connection with the recent visit of the U.N. representative to our country, the aim of this visit and the steps taken by the United Nations in the area of resolving the Afghanistan issue, Dr Velayati said: This morning, Mr Cordovez, the special envoy of the Secretary General of Afghanistan issue politically. The goal announced by the representative of the United Nations is that the Soviet forces leave Afghanistan and the Afghan refugees return with respect and of their own volition to their own country. Several times, in meetings with me on various trips or those which took place on my visits to the United Nations, we have consistently maintained clear positions in regards to the Afghanistan issue. We have continuously declared several principles: One is that the Soviet forces leave Afghanistan unconditionally as soon as possible; second, that the exit of the Soviet forces not mean their replacement by other forces; third, that all the Afghan refugees in Iran, Pakistan or elsewhere in the world return of their own volition and with respect to Afghanistan; and fourth, that the people of Afghanistan be given the opportunity to determine their own destiny. We believe that this is the most basic and essential solution that we can pursue in regards to the people of Afghanistan and we maintain these positions. Every time that they meet with us, we insist on these principles and this time, too, was no different. Briefly, we believe that the people of Afghanistan must be permitted to determine their own destiny without foreign interference, regardless of whether the foreign powers belong to the Eastern or Western camp. The Soviet Union is unjustified in having its forces in Afghanistan, as is any other country. The passage of more than three years since the issue of Afghanistan began has shown that certain forces might come and occupy a country, especially a country with a long history and with a very strong and deep ideology, such as Islam, which has penetrated to the depths of the lives of the people of Afghanistan. They might be able to occupy the soil of such a country, but it is impossible for them to impose their domination there forever. In any case, every time that we have met with the U.N. officials at their request, we have done nothing but emphasize our principles in regards to the Afghanistan issue.

The Positions of Syria and Libya in Regards to the Imposed War

In connection with the positions of Syria and Libya concerning the imposed war of the regime of Iraq against the Islamic Republic, the minister of foreign affairs of our country said: They endorse all of our positions fully; which is to say, they endorse every position what we have had and still do have thus far, saying that our war with Saddam should continue until our conditions have been met. We say that this is an oppressive and

regime representing the people of Iraq. This regime must be eliminated by the people of Iraq. In other words, the efforts of the people of Iraq to overthrow this regime and establish a people's regime in accordance with the goals of the people of Iraq must be aided and supported. The two countries of Syria and Libya support us in this position.

10,000

CSG: 4640/97

MAJLISMEN ANGRY OVER COUNCIL OF GUARDIANS' REJECTION OF BILLS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] There were signs of some ruffled feelings among the mullahs' leadership last week following the rejection of the Majlis-approved bills to divide up agricultural land and to confiscate the property of exiles by the Council of Guardians. Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani was in touchy mood both when he spoke later in the Majlis and at Friday prayers. The following afternoon Khomeini had to try to appease a delegation of parliamentarians when he received them.

By midweek the conservative elements on the Council of Guardians could rest content in the knowledge that they had bested the more radical deputies once more. Their controversial decisions, which delighted both the remaining land and property owners in Iran and exiles who were trying to decide what risk there was to their lives if they did go home and claim their rights within two months, as the Majlis bill had laid down, set off a real buzz of discussion about capitalism and communism and Islamic laws in Tehran and other cities.

On Friday morning the rattled Rafsanjani told his congregation that those who were accusing people who spoke up for the poor, and the need for the rights of the deprived to be obtained from the rich, of being communists were talking nonsense. "I tell these stupid people to shut their mouths", he said testily.

He also appeared to be telling people who were elated that some revolutionary measures like taking over property and land were being thwarted that they should give up their hopes of dividing the different factions of the Islamic revolution. Consensus, he told his listeners, had always been a principle Islamic virtue and patient argument and discussion, the listening to other people's views and proper consideration of them, was part of Islamic tradition. The people who followed the Imam's Line, for example, represented all kinds of opinions, even in their views on political, administrative and social matters, but this did not mean they were divided.

"I must stress that our unity and sincerity is impregnable," Rafsanjani said. "Nobody should think they can drive a wedge between us and our brothers."

Rafsanjani told his fellow Majlismen on another occasion that he appreciated the desire of the members (he later corrected himself to add the formal required adjective of "honourable") of the Council of Guardians to be strict over the application of Islamic principles. But the legislature and administration had to face the legacy of "taghout" (corruption) and they had their own requirements. This had to be taken into account.

Khomeini had told the deputies who visited him at the beginning of the week, ostensibly to congratulate him a couple of weeks early on the upcoming anniversary of the revolution but obviously to complain about their bills being thrown out by the Guardians, that they must ensure they were not influenced by different interests in producing their legislation. There were sometimes doubts about the conformity with Islam of some of their decisions.

Then he added, "Luckily you have the Council of Guardians at your disposal on this aspect and they are a 100 per cent competent body."

This latter remark was seized on with enthusiasm by many people as franking the decisions of the Guardians and further evidence that Khomeini was turning away from his former radical friends. But three or four days later Rafsanjani announced to deputies what many people saw as a concession to parliament's image and a reminder that more radical quarters could still exert some influence. He said that Khomeini had agreed that if two-thirds of the Majlis deputies approved a measure this was equivalent to a velayat-e-faghih and it would not be "necessary" to have the approval of the Guardians.

In their verdict on the confiscation of property of those who did not return to lay their claims to it within two months the Council of Guardians said the fact that people had fled their country or were living abroad did not render them liable under the Sharia (Islamic laws) for such measures against them. The Council, they said, had come to a unanimous decision (a rare announcement) in deciding that the measure was against Islamic principles, and it had come to a majority decision that it also convened articles 20 and 157 of the constitution. It added that its decision did not prejudice legal aspects of claims over property. But it added that one of its objections to the measure was that the subject was primarily one for a judicial decision and that it should be handled by the judicial high council. The Majlis was thus exceeding its powers.

Reliable informants say there were widespread strikes by revolutionary committees and other organisations soon after the announcement of Khomeini's so-called liberalisation charter. But as with the Majlismen Khomeini appears to have remained firm about his general intention, though making concessions in many different areas, such as allowing bodies to function again after earmarking them for disbandment.

The Iranian press, controlled though it is by the government, still provided some clues to the general public's reaction to Khomeini's charter, especially to the part calling for proper attention to the public's complaints. An item in the Tehran daily ETTELAAT during the week said that Hojatoleslam

Razavi, who is responsible for the implementation of the edict in the north-eastern town of Semnan, had told the paper he had received 400 complaints against the revolutionary organisations and officials.

They had flooded his office with them, he said, but unfortunately only very few of the complaints would be eligible for consideration because their formulators knew how to compile them "within the required framework."

Razavi, who also warned that counter revolutionaries should not try to use the edict as cover for their activities, said that he had visited Semnan's prisons and "all inmates have told me they are quite happy with conditions and their treatment by their guards."

CSO: 4600/322

OPPOSITION LEFT DISPUTING WITH EACH OTHER LIKE RIGHT

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 21 Jan 81 pp 4, 5

[Text] Signs that arguments and disarray similar to those besetting the centrist and rightist sections of the wide opposition to Khomeini are also afflicting the National Council of Resistance leftist groupings were provided this week in the Paris-based exile weekly ISLAMIC REVOLUTION.

Published by former Islamic republic president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, the paper asked in an unsigned article why the opposition leaders did not get together and end their feuding. It said they often seemed more concerned to win their battle with one another than to get back home to Iran.

Since Islamic Revolution has made no bones about the fact that it considers the groups to the right to be irrelevant it could only have been discussing internal problems of the leftist grouping, Paris observers pointed out. The council groups an assortment of small parties, including the Mojahedin-e-Khalq and the anti-Moscow section of the Fedayeen-e-Khalq, Abdurrahman Gassemlou's Kurdish Democratic Party, Hedayat Matin-Daftary's National Democratic Front and others.

The council has kept up a strong facade of harmony in recent months, unlike the other squabbling groups to the right. But signs that the Mojahedin-e-Khalq was losing its support among Iranians, with the prospect that to preserve its apparent leadership of the leftist movement it might have to turn to utilizing foreign interests to bolster its place, may have led to some friction, sources say.

That there has been disagreement over the Rajavi decision to talk to Iraqi deputy premier Tareq Aziz has become obvious since the meeting took place, through none of the other council leaders has yet come out with any denunciation of their leader. [as published] But sources close to the council have contended that Bani-Sadr himself was against the meeting and advised Rajavi against it. Since then Bani-Sadr himself, at a meeting with foreign pressmen in Paris to launch his latest book, and his newspaper have let it be clearly understood that he blames Iraq entirely for the war.

ISLAMIC REVOLUTION in its latest issue condemned the Iraqis for their aggression against the people of Iran and said it had not only committed crimes

against Iran but against the people of the whole region. The full human and material consequences of the war were to be placed firmly on Iraqi shoulders, the paper said.

The paper also called on all those opposition groups which had received financial or other support from the Iraqis to "clarify the situation." A number of groups have already issued fierce denials and have branded both Rajavi and any other Iranians who have consorted with the Iraqis as traitors. The official media in Tehran has also in the past week said Rajavi's meeting with Tareq Aziz demonstrated that he was "a stooge of Iraq, the Zionists and America."

Iranian observers in Paris have been quick to point to Rajavi statements and actions which either conflict with policy lines of Bani-Sadr or with his own decision to discuss the war with the Iraqis.

These include Rajavi's call for a boycott of Iranian oil, a move Bani-Sadr has declared himself against.

Sources in Paris contended this week that Tareq Aziz had offered to arm any Iranian prisoners in Iraqi hands who were willing to fight along with the Mojahedin, and Kurdish and Arab guerrilla groups inside Iran.

Observers in Paris noted that Tareq Aziz had been reported as saying that he looked forward to Rajavi becoming "even the president of Iran" one day, something which could hardly have pleased Bani-Sadr. The latter not only still considers himself the legitimate president of the Islamic republic but is considered so under the agreement between the two leaders before the setting up of the National Council of Resistance.

OSO: 4600/322

RAJAVI COMMENTS ON MILITARY, INTERNAL SITUATION

PMO1131 London. SOURCE: LA Vieille, 28 Feb 83, pp. 16-17

[Interview with Mas'ud Rajavi, leader of the Deym-e Dineh Khodiy Organization and of the Iranian National Resistance Council in a Paris suburb--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Introductory passage omitted] The first question I put to the leader of the Iranian National Resistance Council in the wake of the recent Iranian attack (on Iraq) was to ask him about his evaluation, from an Iranian standpoint, of the recent battles.

Mas'ud Rajavi: We have expected this attack to take place for a long time. We said this in a statement published earlier. Khomeini's regime is today continuing to make forces and to mobilize in order to prepare for a new onslaught. Attempts are now being made to justify the failure of the recent attack and the resulting defeat. [passage omitted]

In the attempt by Khomeini's regime to justify the failure of the recent attack we note that a new factor has come into consideration, a factor which we must point out here. I spoke about this factor immediately after the signing of the joint statement with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz. I stressed that this statement represents a political turning point in the history of war. Some people did not then understand exactly what I meant. But at the first stages of Khomeini's attack it was possible to observe the outcome of this turning point: the Iranian Army adopted a somewhat negative attitude and the rest did not show any enthusiasm for this attack. Why? Because after this joint statement the aggressive and expansionist character of Khomeini became clear and confirmed for the Iranian people. Before that statement everybody was wondering: Is Iran really ready to establish peace on the basis of recognizing the integrity of both countries' soil? But since Iraq has shown such readiness what, therefore, is the justification of continuing the war? After the joint statement there was no justification for the war, through that statement Tariq 'Aziz addressed the Iranian people through me, that is through a legitimate authority backed by the great majority of the Iranian people and representing the people's aspirations. Nevertheless, I am sorry that Khomeini's aggressive ambitions have led to new massacres and destruction. This is unfortunate, particularly for my country and people. The number of people killed and wounded on the Iranian side has

reached more than 15,000. Most of the hospitals in southern Iran and even in the north are full of wounded. The dispatch of the wounded to Mashhad, which is 1,500 km from the front, gives an idea of the number of casualties. During the first day alone F-135 planes carried large numbers of wounded to the Imam Riza Hospital in Mashhad, which is now full of wounded. Nevertheless, as I said in the joint statement with Tariq 'Aziz, as long as Khomeyni is not in an extremely exhausted situation he will not agree to establish peace with Iraq because Khomeyni's regime, in view of its instability, no longer has a reason to exist or a means to survive except through war, repression and persecution.

A -DUSTUR: Since you have spoken about your meeting with Tariq 'Aziz, before I ask you about it let me ask you if specific mutual pledges were made between the two sides.

Mas'ud Rajavi: Mr Tariq 'Aziz expressed his deep understanding regarding my request to refrain from hitting civilians and Iranian towns and villages.

A -DUSTUR: It was agreed during the meeting that you will pay a visit to Iraq. Have you on your part fixed a date for this visit?

Mas'ud Rajavi: In order to make this visit we must await the fulfillment of suitable and necessary conditions. In principle I have no objection to making such a visit. But the Iranian people must of course know what results I would bring away from such a visit. Otherwise, such a visit would be adversely exploited by Khomeyni's propaganda machine. I have met here with Tariq 'Aziz, and the gains of such meeting are clear to the Iranian people, particularly the army. The military people who recently joined us and whose statements to the press you have probably heard about have assured me of this. They said that this statement had a great positive effect in the army ranks. It is certain that if in the coming months Iraq avoids hitting civilians the atmosphere inside the army and among the Iranian people will be more favorable. Therefore, you can see that in principle I have no objection to making this visit but we must wait and see what this visit will offer.

A -DUSTUR: There is a strange phenomenon, which is the alliance of certain Arab regimes--the Syrian and Libyan--with Khomeyni against Iraq despite the Arab League Charter and internal facts in Iran. How do you explain this phenomenon?

Mas'ud Rajavi: First of all I must tell you that when you describe these two regimes as Arab it is something that I don't understand. This is your problem, you Arabs. I am Iranian. Nevertheless, I also ask the same question and so do the Iranian people. Why do you ask me this question? Put it to Al-Qadhdhafi and Hafiz al-Asad. All I can say is that I and the Iranian people regret this aid, which is helping to prolong Khomeyni's existence and which Al-Qadhdhafi and Al-Asad are giving him to help him kill more Iranians and more Mojahedin. It is my sincere wish that this phenomenon will end in the near future. I take this opportunity to ask Presidents al-Qadhdhafi and al-Asad through you to do so, provided that you write down what I say without distorting it or adding to it.

AL-DUSTUR: I will convey this appeal with total honesty.

Mas'ud Rajavi: In my capacity as an official of the Iranian National Resistance Council and the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization, I ask president Ahfiz al-Asad and Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi to look carefully at the legitimate Iranian resistance of the Iranian people and particularly the Iranian people's historical ambitions and their great revolution for the sake of freedom and independence, which is the same revolution that ousted the Shah and will topple Khomeyni. It is the revolution that Khomeyni has betrayed. Together with the Iranian people we, should condemn Khomeyni's crimes.

AL-DUSTUR: This is as far as Khomeyni's Arab allies are concerned. But there is a state that is somewhat close to Khomeyni through an Iranian political force, by which I mean the Soviet Union and the Tudeh Party. How do you explain the recent arrest of Tudeh Party leaders? Does this have anything to do with the current Iranian-U.S. contacts or is the matter a mere internal measure?

Mas'ud Kajavi: In order to understand what happened one must look at Khomeyni's actions from the beginning when he gradually liquidated his closest aides. [passage omitted] As you can notice, Khomeyni is gradually eroding himself. Thus we can draw the conclusion that the arrest of Tudeh Party leaders was an inevitable result of the weakness and isolation of the regime, whose internal situation is gradually deteriorating and which is daily liquidating its allies and supporters in order to maintain its balance. On the other hand, the Tudeh Party command has fallen in its own trap which it was praising until recently, that is the trap of terror and repression. The Tudeh Party used to laud Khomeyni's regime because this party has no popular base and it was therefore trying to infiltrate the people from the top with the aim of taking over power. This logic needed a proletarian party to pray behind Khomeyni. Also, Khomeyni wanted to arrest Tudeh Party leaders in order to tip the balance in favor of the religious extremists who refuse alliance with the Tudeh Party. Today Khomeyni is in a predicament with regard to both the war and the internal situation. On the other hand, Khomeyni would like, after liquidating the Tudeh Party, to obtain foreign protection and arms from those who believe that the Tudeh Party command represents an important factor in the development of Iranian society and politics.

A final point is that the fanatics are afraid for their future, particularly since the regime has failed to end internal resistance and terror and repression have produced no results. In view of this contradiction Khomeyni has been forced to pretend that he is carrying out reforms. But in view of the fact that he is unable to carry out reforms while repression and terror are continuing, he has tried by arresting Tudeh Party leaders to satisfy some of his supporters who are shaken by worries over the vague future. I must say here that the Tudeh Party leader used to say publicly that he had participated with Khomeyni in repressing and persecuting us and had several times asked that we be liquidated. He also personally asked for my expulsion from France so that I could be executed in Tehran.

Nevertheless and in spite of all this, we in the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization, despite the Tudeh leadership's participation in repressing us, condemn as we have condemned in the past and will condemn in the future arrests, summary courts and repression of the Iranian political forces, even including members of the Tudeh Party and the pro-Shah royalist groups. We condemn torture, repression, execution and summary trials regardless of the identity of the victim. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4604/14

TEXT OF RAJAVI-TAREQ AZIZ STATEMENT

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 pp 5, 6

[Text] Because of the outburst of comment on and criticism of the Rajavi and Tareq Aziz meeting the details of the statement issued by the two men at the end of it have been obscured. At the request of correspondents we reprint virtually the full text to clear up any possible misunderstandings over what has proved for Iranians a controversial occasion.

"Mr Tariq Aziz explained to Mr Rajavi the position of Iraq based on a sincere desire to establish peace between Iraq and Iran on the basis of total independence and territorial integrity, respect for the free will of the people of Iraq and Iran, non-interference in internal affairs and creation of common relations between the people of Iraq and Iran and their combatant forces believing in peace between the two peoples.

Mr Tariq Aziz extended to Mr Rajavi an invitation from the Iraqi leadership for visiting Iraq in order to create fraternal relations between the two neighbouring peoples on the basis of mutual respect and sincere desire to establish peace.

To clear up any misunderstanding created by press reports about the nature of relations between the two sides, Mr Tariq Aziz reiterated the fact that these relations were based on mutual political understanding of the two sides for the legitimate goals of the peoples and are not based on other foundations or backings.

1. Mr Rajavi explained the viewpoints of the just resistance of the Iranian people on the peaceful settlement of disputes between the two countries. These disputes can be settled peacefully through direct negotiations between the two sides within the framework of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of both countries, while taking into consideration the mutual observance of the policy of non-intervention in each other's affairs and also the mutual observance of good neighbourly relations. Such a settlement can only be undertaken by the democratic alternative embodied in the National Council of Resistance and the Provisional Government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran, which shall be established after the downfall of Khomeini's regime in Iran.

2. Mr Rajavi declared that since last June, only Khomeini has been calling for continuation of the war with Iraqi. [as published] Following the evacuation of Iranian territory by Iraqi forces and the announcement by the Iraqi Government that it is prepared to withdraw its forces completely, the war has carried no national characteristic and has precisely served to prolong Khomeini's suppressive rule against the entire nation of Iran. Mr. Rajavi explained that this war has become tied up to the fate of Khomeini's regime and Khomeini uses it to put a lid on the extensive resistance at home; to harness great socio-political crises and to satiate his obsession with expansionism for the revival of a mediaeval empire in the name of Islam through the policy of the so-called export of revolution.

3. Mr Rajavi also identified Khomeini as the one who, by his very nature, is the cause of anarchy, war and crises in the world's most sensitive region, namely the Middle East. He declared that as Khomeini recognises no language other than the language of power, the idea of peace with Khomeini is unrealistic--unless he is in an absolutely helpless and weak position. Mr Rajavi thus called on all peace-loving nations and governments of the world to boycott Khomeini's oil, the commodity which secures the astronomical expenditures needed for his war effort.

4. While emphasising his condemnation of all forms of harm brought on civilians and also the Khomeini regime's attacks on citizens, built up areas and defenceless people of Iraqi towns and cities, Mr Rajavi requested Iraq to take into consideration the immunity and security of towns, cities, villages and defenceless people of Iran. At this point, Mr Tariq Aziz expressed his profound understanding of this issue to Mr Rajavi.

5. While condemning the persecution and execution of Iraqi prisoners of war by the Khomeini regime--reliable documents of which have been revealed at international level by the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran in the past--Mr Rajavi requested the Iraqi government to pay special attention to the state of Iranian prisoners of war in Iraq, particularly the Armed Forces personnel, in compliance with the Geneva Convention.

Mr Tariq Aziz suggested that Mr Rajavi could send a special representative to Iraq to visit Iranian prisoners of war.

6. On the Iraqi leadership's invitation to Mr Rajavi to visit that country, Mr Rajavi, while seeing no obstacle preventing such a visit as far as principles were concerned, said that he would soon take it into consideration."

CSO: 4600/322

REPORT RELEASED BY NATION ON 'IRAQI AGGRESSION'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 13 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN. (IRNA)- The following is a report concerning the Iraqi imposed war since its beginning and the gradual expulsion of the aggressor forces from the Islamic Republic of Iran:

-Prior to its all-out aggression on Sept. 22, 1980, the Iraqi forces carried out 289 attacks on Iranian border areas and towns. These attacks launched immediately after the Islamic Revolution, indicated Iraq's enmity towards Islam and the influence of the Islamic revolution on the Moslem people of the region, namely Iraq itself.

-On Sept. 22, 1980 the Iraqi aggressors made a widescale offensive against the territories of the Islamic Republic with more than 90,000 troops, attacking from the ground, sea and air. Soon after the Iraqi attack, 140 Iranian air force jetfighters attacked Iraqi military and economic installations.

-In the first two months of the war the Iraqis faced unexpected resistance, but nevertheless they were able to occupy Khorramshahr, albeit suffering incredible casualties, and also advanced to within 25 kms from the capital of Khuzestan province, Ahvaz, and occupied Dehloran, Sumar, Naftshahr, Sar-e pol-e zahab, Qasr-e Shrin and other border towns after heavy shelling on their residential areas.

-In the third and fourth months the war, the two sides exchanged mainly artillery fire while the Islamic forces halted the enemy's advance and began guerrilla raids against the aggressors.

-In their first major attack, the Islamic combatants launched an offensive on Jan. 6, 1981 and captured more than 2,000 enemy troops, and seized more than 400 tanks and personnel carriers.

-Also in the fourth month of the war, the town of Susangerd west of Ahvaz, was bravely defended in a fierce battle with the aggressors. During this battle, Martyr Dr. Mostafa Chamran, then commanding a para-military force, besides being a Majlis representative was martyred.

-The halting of the Iraqi advance produced negative effect on the Iraqi aggressors who were promised an easy victory against a "trouble-plagued" Iran, whose fighters contrary to previous assessments became more determined to root out the enemy forces. Observing this situation, Saddam Hussein ordered 14 reserve groups to join in his war against the Islamic Republic and the Iraqi forces concentrated their efforts not on widescale attacks, but to hold on to the occupied territories.

-On April 4, 1981 the Iranian air force planes carried out

their most successful and daring air raid against Iraqi targets. They pounded four Iraqi air bases west of Iraq near its border with Jordan and, according to reports, up to 46 Iraqi aircraft including, mirage fighters, MiGs and tupolovs were destroyed.

- In the eighth month of the Iraqi imposed war, the strategic Bazi Deraz heights in western Iran were regained by the Islamic forces and 300 Iraqi soldiers were taken captive and 350 others were killed.

-Towards the end of the eighth month, the highly important Allah-o Akbar heights were liberated north of Khuzestan province. In this operation the Islamic forces advance more than 18 kms, killed 300 enemy soldiers and captured 555 others.

-After Banisadr's dismissal from the post of commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, the jubilant Islamic combatants launched an offensive on the Abadan-dar-Khoen axis during which more than 300 Iraqi soldiers were killed and large amounts of war spoils seized from the enemy on June 11.

-After a few months of relative calm in the battle fronts, on the first anniversary of the Iraqi aggression, the Iranian Moslem fighters made their biggest attack yet, north and northeast of Abadan. The operation, code named "Thamin ul-A'umma" (eighth Imam of the Household of the Prophet), was launched on Sept. 27, 1981 and in addition to ending the year-old siege around Abadan, 250 square kms were liberated, 1,700 soldiers were taken captive, 1,000 enemy soldiers were killed, 90 tanks and personnel carriers seized undamaged and many other military hardware and equipment were also captured.

-Following this successful operation, the commanders of the Army and the Islamic Revolution's Guards, General Vali'ollah Fallahi, Colonel Javad Fakuri, Brigadier General Musa

Namju, and Deputy Commander of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps (IRGC) Yusef Kolahduz were martyred in a C-130 aircraft crash outside Tehran after visiting Abadan's liberated regions.

-Two months later on the eve of Nov. 29, 1981, the Islamic forces liberated the town of Bostan, west of Ahvaz near the border with Iraq, and reached the international border with Iraq for the first time since the Iraqi aggressors occupied areas of Khuzestan province. In this operation, code-named Tariq ul-Qods (The Road to Jerusalem), 534 Iraqi soldiers were taken captive, more than 300 square kms were liberated, 150 tanks and personnel carriers were destroyed, 2,500 aggressors were killed, more than 70 villages were purged of the Iraqis, and 13 enemy aircraft were shot down.

- On Dec. 6, in the western fronts, several strategic heights were regained from the Iraqi aggressors including Baraftab, Shiakuh, Charmian and others in an offensive named Matla ul-Fajr (The Rising of the Dawn). In this operation 80 square kms were liberated and more than 2,000 Iraqis were killed.

- In their first offensive carried out inside Iraqi territory, the Islamic forces briefly captured enemy positions in Iraq near the Iranian border town of Marivan. In this operation, which was largely aimed at proving Iran's ability to cross into Iraqi territory, 114 aggressors were captured and more than 700 others were killed. This operation was carried out on Jan. 2, 1982.

- Then on March 22, the Islamic forces launched an extensive operation west of the southern city of Dezful and Shush. The operation, named fath ul-Mubin (The Evident Victory), liberated more than 2,400 square kms of land destroyed 6 enemy aircraft, seized 350 tanks and personnel carriers undamaged, captured 15,500 aggressors, and more than

2,500 Iraqis were killed or wounded.

- Only about one month later, on April 30, operation Bait-Ul-Muqadas began and lasted until May 24, in three stages. The operation was launched south of Ahvaz in Khuzestan province and led to the liberation of the Port City of Khorramshahr, the Hamid Garrison, Hoveizeh, and Jufair. The total areas liberated during the operation were 5,400 square kms, and 17,500 Iraqis were taken captive, 16,000 others were killed or wounded, 29 enemy aircraft were shot down, 418 tanks were destroyed and 103 more were seized undamaged.

- On July 14, 1982, the Islamic forces carried out operation Ramadhan their first widespread attack against the enemy forces inside Iraqi territory, east of Basra. In this offensive the enemy lost vast numbers of military equipment including the destruction of 980 tanks and personnel carriers, and 136 tanks and personnel carriers were seized undamaged. Also about 1,400 Iraqis were taken

captive and 7,000 others were killed or wounded. In this operation 80 square kms of Iraqi territory were liberated.

- In their next offensive, the Islamic forces made a swift attack against enemy positions on the strategic border heights of Sumar, overlooking the Iraqi city of Mandali. In this operation, named Moslem ibn-e Aqil, 150 square kms of Iranian territories were liberated. The enemy lost 454 troops and it created a superior position for the Iranian Moslem combatants to make a threat on Baghdad, about 110 kms away.

- Next came Operation Moharram, in the southern fronts, near the border west of Dezful. In this operation more than 550 square kms of Iranian territory and 300 square kms of Iraqi territory were liberated. Also, 6,200 Iraqi soldiers were killed or wounded, 3,500 others were taken captive, 277 tanks and vehicles were destroyed, 140 tanks and 240 vehicles were seized undamaged, and 24 enemy aircraft were shot down.

CSO: 4600/339

IRAN-IRAQ WAR SAID TO BE 'DRAWING TO A CLOSE'

Istanbul MIDDLE EAST REVIEW in English Jan 83 p 19

[Article by Ahsen Batur]

[Text]

In a recent letter to the eṣ-Şark al-Avsat newspaper, published in London, an Arab reader complained about the excessive concern over the war in Lebanon displayed by Western and Arab journalists, whose articles made him feel as if he was there embroiled in the war. Why, he asked had the war between Iran and Iraq not received similar coverage?

At first sight this view appears justified, but I feel sure that if the Lebanese war had dragged on for two or three years the media would have lost interest in that too. Iraqi Head of State Saddam Hussein, in an exclusive interview to al-Majalla magazine said that the end of the war was in sight, that Iran had lost its former fighting strength as evidenced by the latest battles, and that Iran had run out of soldiers to send to the front. In Hussein's view the Iran-Iraq war was effectively over, apart from brief skirmishes.

It is Turkey's most sincere wish that this be true. But I believe the war would have been over already if, as Mes'ud Rejavi claims, the Soviet Union had not given Iran a guarantee not to attack Iran. According to Mes'ud Rejavi this unofficial agreement between Khomeini's regime and the Soviet Union enabled Iran to withdraw its troops from the Soviet border and post them to the Iraqi front. This injection of fresh reinforcements explains the abrupt ad-

vance of Iranian troops ten kilometres over the border into Iraqi territory, and the violent clashes around Basra. Similarly the United States has played a significant role in the continuation of the war. Saddam Hussein mentioned this matter in his statement to al-Majalla. In spite of everything, he said, they were planning to rectify relations with the United States.

It is possible that the Iran-Iraq war would never have occurred had it not been for the interference of foreign powers, but there is no doubt that this interference of neighbouring states and foreign powers was responsible for its prolongation. Wars with modern weapons are so costly that they spell disaster for the economies of nations at war. In spite of their oil wealth neither Iran nor Iraq could afford a two and a half year war. Neither actually has the strength to continue. The populace is fed up and the soldiers are exhausted. Even if foreign powers supply an endless stream of weapons, both sides are aware that they cannot harm one another more than they have already. This war will not go beyond brief, sporadic clashes, before perhaps drawing to a close.

They claim that the war will not end before the demise of Khomeini. But I believe that the war is going to end whether Khomeini dies or not. The months ahead will show who is right. ●

FRANCE'S SUPPORT TO IRAQ LABELLED 'FUTILE MOVE'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 6 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

PARIS (IRNA) - The French daily 'Le Monde' Friday warned France's socialist leaders on the military support for Iraq and said the Iraqi situation both in terms of military capability against Iran and financial capacity to pay its dues pose a big question mark in the mind of the observers.

The daily was commenting on the recently concluded agreements between Iraq and France regarding purchase of sophisticated weapons by the Baghdad regime.

Regardless of the prevailing (war) circumstances, Iraq has been the prime client of France in the Middle East thus guaranteeing certain profits for that country. The paper added that France's arms sales in 1981-82 totalled some 28 billion francs and that Iraq and Saudi Arabi received 70 to 80 percent of French arms exports -- playing a major role in keeping the French arms industries running.

Since the beginning of the Persian Gulf war, Baghdad has not hesitated wasting its foreign exchange reserves and now as the oil export of that country has been considerably hindered, it is not able to cover its foreign debts.

On the other hand, the Persian Gulf states have unofficially announced that so far they have granted over \$35 billion to the Baghdad regime. It is doubtful whether the Iraqi regime will receive another \$7 billion for which a request has already been made to those states.

The daily, while trying to conceal its fear of the future victories of the Islamic combatants in the war fronts, continued that in case Iraq could not pay its debts in due time, French tax-payers should pay at least 15 billion francs, equivalent to the guarantee for the Foreign Trade Insurance Company of France, only in the field of non-military credits.

Le Monde, admitting that the flow of modern armaments from Eastern and Western blocs to Iraq has not been able to have the least effect in the solid will of the Iranian people, tried to camouflage the French role in this defeat.

It wrote that Mitterrand said on Nov. 26 that his government did not desire to see Iraq being defeated. However, the capability of French weaponry, being less than those of the Soviet Union, in the Iraqi imposed war seems doubtful.

The fact is that the present system in Tehran is further establishing itself while the Baghdad regime is facing very many problems, the paper said.

Intensification of suppression in Iraq, Moslem Shi'a uprising in southern areas, and underground activities opposing the government are weakening the regime.

The paper concluded by calling on the French socialist statesmen to ponder on the future of such collaborations and also to act cautiously in signing economic and military pacts with Baghdad.

In a front-page article on Friday, Le Monde referred to the sale of 29 French Mirage aircraft to Iraq.

It said that France will deliver 29 of the total of 60 F-1 Mirage, to Iraq before this year is over. These planes will have a wider range of performance and will be equipped with 'Exocet' missiles.

The paper also revealed that so far Iraq has ordered 85 of such aircraft, 71 from the French naval forces and 14 from Argentine.

Since 1980 Baghdad has purchased 60 F-1 Mirage jet fighters from France to be delivered in two phases and has signed an agreement for the purchase of another 29 without informing the Iraqis. Iraqi technicians will probably be able to assemble Exocet missiles on the Mirage planes which will be equipped with the system for refueling in the air.

SHAH'S SON VIEWS PROSPECTS FOR RETURN AFTER KHOMEYNI

Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 8 Jan 83 pp 88-93

[Interview with Reza Pahlavi by Patrick Wajzman, director of
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE magazine]

[Text] Patrick Wajzman: Your Majesty, I should like us to talk about the past, the present, and especially the future. Your future, and your return as head of Iran. To begin with, however, I should like to know if you, as the embodiment of monarchical values, don't feel just a little bit "out of it" in these republican times.

Reza Pahlavi: Not at all. You see, I am 22 years old: I accept these times readily, I understand them, I "feel" them, and I like them. And, as for the political system I believe in for my country, I should simply point out to you that 70 percent of the peoples who live right now under a monarchical system enjoy a democratic system of law, whereas only 20 percent of the people who claim to be republicans even know what such a system is! The fact is that for eight "undemocratic" monarchies, there are 130 authoritarian or totalitarian republics. What I'm trying to tell you is that I am very comfortable, as heir to the Iranian crown, in standing up for democracy, justice, and the law.

[Question] Your political maturity, whatever one may think of your options, is quite impressive. How old were you when you got your first taste of public affairs?

[Answer] Quite young, actually. I found myself permanently at a kind of epicenter where all decisions were made, where all problems and issues were analyzed. And that enabled me, very early, to understand the processes of government and of economic and social development. I was not a participant in them, of course, and so I was better informed on events themselves than on what had caused them; but I was "swimming" in an atmosphere that -- I think -- let me get a good idea of the scope of the problems facing my people. The more so because what my father cared most about was that I should know the Iranian people well, and at first hand. It is that knowledge, even more than the technique of government in the narrow sense, that prepared me for public

life, and which make it possible for me today to feel the evils besetting Iran as keenly as I do.

[Question] Do you recall any one political event that put you at odds with your father, any one decision of his you opposed?

[Answer] I'd have to be pretty arrogant, you know, to set myself up as judge. Just as a good geologist understands more about a mountain as he moves away from it. I don't think it's possible for the moment to make any peremptory judgment to the effect that this or that decision by the shah was, historically, a bad or harmful one. Khomeyni came to power 3 years ago; but Persia has 5,000 years of history!

[Question] Just the same, your majesty, what is the event that most affected you, during that final period of challenge to the shah's authority?

[Answer] No question but that it was the gap between the swift economic growth of the country and the traditional aspirations of the people. Iranian society could not identify with progress, and the very fiber of that society had been steadily rent asunder. We ought probably to have taken it a little slower and offered the Iranian people some institutional structures that would have enabled them to express themselves more clearly. In a word, I think that we were betting on the people's ability to adapt rapidly to change, and that -- for the time being -- we lost our bet.

[Question] Western critics of the Iranian government were not -- if memory serves me aright -- as "cool, calm, and collected" as your explanations...

[Answer] What the liberal intellectual elites were demanding, in fact, was that Iran endow itself -- overnight -- with a European-style democratic system. Democracy, though, is not a Lipton teabag that you need only soak in some water to get instant results!

I would add that the democratic countries -- France, particularly -- have in many cases taken centuries and spilled quantities of blood before they acquired a truly democratic system. Why should Iran, a Third-World country, succeed instantly and without tears in establishing a system for itself which you, the French, won only at the cost of such travail and pain? Lastly, I don't think, really, that one should be overly concerned with what the foreign intelligentsia and "experts" think; if you are, and if you try too hard to please them, you wind up losing touch with the realities of your own country. The "leftist" Western journalists used to blame my father for not pushing Iran's access to modern democracy fast enough; but, at the same time, they blamed him for bruising the traditionalist mindset of the Iranians by thrusting 20th-century progress upon them too fast: isn't that a ridiculous paradox?

[Question] Wasn't your father, despite all that, aware of the turn events were taking, of that "gap" between the modernist policy he planned to pursue and the traditional aspirations of the Iranian people?

[Answer] My father's second thoughts as he looked back over his reign prove that he was ready to explain more clearly to the Iranians that the country was moving into the modern era. He did not, alas! have the time to clarify those difficulties, to play the pedagogue's role; the more's the pity that, when there is such a "pedagogical vacuum," there is usually a charlatan ready to fill it and promise the moon! That's precisely what happened with Khomeyni!

[Question] Let's take that line of thought a bit further. Don't you think that Islamic fundamentalism, as Khomeyni preaches it these days, was taken too lightly, neglected, by the Iranian monarchy?

[Answer] Westerners, when they talk about Iran, are going to have to stop positing an opposition between Islam and the monarchy, because that is a totally erroneous analysis. Islam is our religion: I am a Muslim myself, a practicing Muslim: as for the monarchy, it is thanks to it that free expression of religious convictions was always guaranteed to all Iranians -- Muslims and non-Muslims. What Westerners don't understand, though, is that Islamic fundamentalism as Khomeyni practices it has absolutely nothing to do with Islamic orthodoxy. Khomeynism is an aberration, a deviation, an abnormal excrescence on Islam: it is to Islam, in a way, what the Inquisition once was to the Catholic religion.

[Question] Could you elaborate a bit on that?

[Answer] Gladly. With Khomeyni, religion has strayed beyond its bounds. In contradiction with what its role should be -- and what it used to be -- it now presumes to meddle in areas that are none of its concern: politics, economics, etc. Yet it is obviously incapable of dealing with or mastering problems of such complexity.

Khomeyni is a 7th-century man. How could he solve the problems of this last remnant of the 20th century? The upshot is that Iran is trapped in a dead end.

[Question] On just what arguments do you base your belief that Iran is mired in a "dead end"?

[Answer] First, on the facts, which you knew as well as I do. I think constantly of the sufferings of the Iranians, of the thousands of arbitrary executions, of the tens of thousands of innocent people who have died, of the cities destroyed, of the industries that have shut down, of the economy in ruins, of the daily terrorism. I think about those poor little Iranian 12-year-olds whom Khomeyni has no qualms about sending to fight against Iraq wearing around their necks -- at least that is what they are told, the "key to paradise."...

When I say "dead end," I am also relying on rational analysis. The fact is that reason tells us that the Khomeyni regime today is deeply enmeshed in contradictions which it has itself created, and from which it cannot extricate itself.

Let's take just one example: in order to win the war against Iraq, the Khomeyni regime must turn to one of two camps. If it turns to the West, it instantly alienates the Marxists who support it; and if it turns to the East, it hands itself over, bound hand and foot, to those same Marxists! But let's take it a little further and let's assume, for the moment, that Khomeyni himself wants to make peace with Baghdad. If that is his choice, he will have to put the country back to work and get the economy turned around (since, in this scenario, the "pretext" of the war will no longer suffice to explain the economic disaster); but in order to deal with the crisis, he will need the support of the modernist fringe of Iranian society; those modernist elements, though, will never accept his reactionary principles. And if he wants to draw on the talents of this "modern" class, while continuing to exercise tight control over it, he will have to turn to the army. In that case, however, he becomes dependent on the army, a position he clearly cannot accept.

You can see that the very logic of Khomeynism is such that each time they try to solve a problem, the ayatollah and his friends create yet another one that puts their political survival at risk. Isn't that what you call a dead end?

[Question] Of course. But isn't there room for concern lest this dead end be finally broken to the advantage of Tudeh, the Iranian Communist Party?

[Answer] You are right to lay some stress on that danger: because behind Khomeyni and the religious "celebrities" who officially hold the highest offices in the state, are the dedicated Marxists who make all the real decisions. And these men -- many of whom have studied abroad -- can take action that much more easily in that the pious mullahs haven't an iota of technical competence. They are therefore hopelessly permeable to any and all influences.

[Question] How would you describe Tudeh's strategy?

[Answer] Mr Kianuri, who is general secretary of Tudeh, what Iran needs is a Marxist revolution. And pending that revolution, Tudeh -- its leader explains -- must form an alliance with the anti-monarchy bourgeoisie, be it leftist or rightist. During this transition period, therefore, Mr Kianuri's party's objectives are the following:

-- Destroy the foundations of private property, or, in other words, the natural defenses of the society.

-- Set the Iranian people against everything that comes from the West in general, and from the United States in particular.

-- Make preparations in secret for seizing power when the time is ripe.

All this explains Tudeh's official support for Khomeyni. But let me say in passing that my disapproval of Marxism is not built on narrowly ideological foundations. It is rooted solely in the "internationalist" nature of that ideology. I cannot accept the notion that Iranian sovereignty be made dependent on any foreign interest whatsoever.

According to my sources of information, Tudeh is getting ready to move into the second phase of its strategy, to wit: pulling out of the governing coalition and undermining the power of the religious authorities. To do that, though, they must first seek to discredit the mullahs by pushing them to adopt more and more unpopular measures in the areas of education, trade, business, etc. That's what Tudeh is trying to do right now.

[Question] Are there other forces on which the USSR can rely to achieve its goal? Other cards it has up its sleeve and just might put into play?

[Answer] There are a great many specialized institutes in the USSR whose sole task is to study Iranian culture. There is, alas! nothing comparable to them in the West! Not at Harvard, not at Princeton, not even at Oxford do you find such institutes specializing in the study of every sub-culture in Iran!

Mark you, there is nothing theoretical, however, about this interest in Iran. There are in fact countless Soviet citizens who speak exactly the same language as their Iranian cousins, and who can cross the long Soviet-Iranian border without anyone's noticing. I should like to point out, finally, that, since my father's time, the USSR has trained 15 to 20,000 anti-monarchy Iranians in its special institutes. When Khomeyni took power, those thousands of cadres flocked back to Iran. They are already at work, from one end of the country to the other.

Having said that, I think that the first duty of any Iranian leader is to maintain friendly relations with the USSR.

[Question] In the West, the intellectual Left often charges that the Right sees communists everywhere, knowingly exaggerates their influence and -- from this point of view -- creates something of an obsession. Is that your feeling, Majesty? Is it true that the communists in Iran are too few in numbers to constitute any real threat?

[Answer] It is one of the West's many mistakes to believe that the influence of communists in a state apparatus depends solely on their numerical strength.

[Question] Let's move now to the role you hope to play in the future. How can you be sure that the Iranians -- even those who are revolted at Khomeynism -- are ready to rally once more to a monarchical form of government?

[Answer] My conviction is rooted in three major premises. Would you like to hear all of them?

[Question] Yes, indeed...

[Answer] First of all, Iran -- as I told you just now -- has always rested upon two pillars: religion and the monarchy. Furthermore, in every Iranian household, even the poorest, you will invariably find two books: the Koran, and the book that tells the history of the Persian kings. If you cut down either of those pillars, the edifice collapses, and chaos ensues. You have proof of that truth today.

Second, for a country as complex as Iran, the monarchy is the one institution that is not "partial," that can reconcile all political factions, all ideological convictions, all the religious and ethnic minorities, without either seeking to crush its adversaries. I would add that all those who will try to seize power in Iran after Khomeyni will perforce have to come together in a coalition, because they will be representing disparate forces. Now all these movements will swiftly come to the realization that there are only two "umbrellas" to shelter and protect them: Marxism and the monarchy. The fact is that, from an institutional point of view, the limits of a constitutional monarchy are clearly understood in Iran today; but those of an alleged "republic" are not: no matter what Frankensteinian political monster could readily hide his true face behind that reassuring word.

Third, the constitutional monarchy I hope to establish will have nothing in common with the monarchy we have had in Iran. You must remember that the Iranian people have been politicized, that they have undergone ideological trauma, that they have been living in the eye of revolutionary turbulence. It is no "Restoration" that I dream of. With me -- I sincerely believe -- will begin a new page in the history of modern Iran.

[Question] I should like you to develop this "constitutional monarchy" concept of yours in more depth.

[Answer] Its king, in my idea, must be the guarantor of the country's social and territorial integrity. He must -- I repeat -- find room for all factions, all parties, all beliefs. He must be a referee-king, not a player-king, if you will permit me that metaphor.

The king must take no political position, because he is not there to favor or punish this faction or the other. He is a symbol: he is there to watch over the smooth workings of government, and to see to it that the democratic decisions of the people are upheld, rather like King Juan Carlos of Spain.

[Question] Which means that you would like to see, alongside the constitutional head of state you would like to be, a government politically answerable to the Parliament?

[Answer] Precisely. And the prime minister appointed to head the government will reflect, as he does in all countries where the people freely express their wishes through elections, the views of the majority party. Further: should conflict break out some day between the people and the government, I should quite naturally take the side of the people against the government. I would point out that the king, who is -- by definition -- not elected, has no need to flatter his constituency, or take this or that political consideration into account in making his decisions. His constituency is the whole of the Iranian people! Consequently, his mission consists solely in "listening" to the wishes of this people, in taking them to heart, and in making them come true.

[Question] There are a lot of Iranian leaders in exile these days, each of whom claims to hold the keys to the future...

[Answer] Each of those individuals, it is true, commands some base of support among the people. I believe, though, that only the monarch can bring about a synthesis among their convictions and cause them to coexist. All these opponents, for that matter, will have a place in the constitutional system; and every day there will be more of them rallying to the monarchical ideal which I embody.

If I have kept silence for so long a time, it is precisely in order to give these people time to speak out freely, to test their popularity among the Iranian people. Today, though, it is clear that the Iranian people need a savior in whom they truly have confidence; a true savior who is not tempted to say, once in power: "Here I am, and here I stay." With a monarchy, of course, such an assumption would be meaningless...

[Question] Will the people be persuaded to speak democratically in favor of the constitutional monarchy?

[Answer] Most certainly. I shall spare you the legal procedures that must be set in train; but what in any case is certain is that the people will express themselves freely about their own future. And if they choose a republican form of government, I should be the first to fight to see that their wishes be complied with.

I must confess that, if that should be their choice, I should not be very proud when I thought of my ancestors, since I should have failed them by failing to assure continuity in the Iranian monarchy. I should not be very happy, either, because I believe, in my heart of hearts, that the monarchical institution is the one which, better than any other, can assure the happiness and prosperity of the Iranians. But, I repeat: I would fight to help my people make their preferences prevail, whatsoever they be.

[Question] You do not, then, rule out the possibility that the Iranians might reject the system you believe in?

[Answer] Short though my life has been, it has taught me never to rule out anything. Having said that, I am convinced that the monarchy will win. And every day of my existence is pledged to that cause.

[Question] Do you estimate your return to Iran in terms of days? Months? Years?

[Answer] In terms of necessity.

[Question] We begin with democracy, with elections, with popular referenda, losing sight, to a degree, of the fact that in order to return to power in a country like Iran you need more than good will. Will the Iranian army support your return?

[Answer] Absolutely. But I rule out a putsch, a classic coup d'etat. I think that the changeover, in Iran, will necessarily have a popular and military dimension. It will not be a purely military operation in the "praetorian" sense of the word. The likeliest situation -- and also the one I most hope for -- is that of a general popular uprising. In the bazaar, in the tribes, in the army itself, in every household, at every level of society, there are enough people right now who want to come together to bring down the "mullarchy" and those who manipulate it. The people -- all the people -- want to put an end to their long suffering -- with the exception, of course, of the few thousands who are batten- ing on the system.

Our society, you see, is far more complex than was the Libyan society in 1969, when King Idriss was overthrown by Qadhafi. That is why military action alone will not suffice. What it will take to swing the country is a coincidence between the people's aspirations and army action. And that coincidence cannot come into being without the political umbrella, which I represent.

[Question] Are the army's leaders, on the whole, hostile toward Khomeyni?

[Answer] Of course they are. And that is even the reason why the government regularly decimates them by making them fight against Iraq under the command of religious commisars who are utterly incompetent in military matters. In the long term, the system hopes to replace this national professional army with an "ideological" army. History shows us that no professional army has lastingly supported a purely ideological regime, particularly if that regime is reactionary. But Khomeyni and his friends will not have time to make that replacement: they will fall first!

[Question] Do you have the feeling that Khomeyni's death will help speed that revolution?

[Answer] It will be a major event, no doubt about it. Once free of Khomeyni, the Iranian people will swiftly shake off their chains: their patience has already been stretched to the bounds of tolerance. Iran today is governed only by arbitrary whim, by crime, and by informers. Khomeyni himself has boasted: "I have 30 million spies!" Do you really believe that men can live like that very long?

[Question] Let's say that this process goes off as you predict, and that you do return to power. Will democracy be established immediately?

[Answer] I could play the demagogue, and answer "yes" to your question. But the truth is that it will take a little time to do that. We shall not have democracy in Iran in 1983 or 1984, even were I to return to power in a few months. I hope that democracy will be established as quickly as possible, but first we have to neutralize all the elements opposing democracy.

[Question] Do you mean by that that before your constitutional monarchy can produce its democratic effects, the people must be "purged" of their subversive elements?

[Answer] That is an unpleasant and unpopular question; but, since I promised you I'd be absolutely frank, I am willing to deal with it.

To achieve democracy, there must inevitably be a short transition period. Because, just as you do not learn to sail in the middle of a storm, you do not learn the ground-rules of democracy in the midst of disorder and anarchy. So it would be Utopian to hope that the country will turn as peaceable as Switzerland overnight! The fact is that today there are close to a million automatic weapons in unknown hands in Iran; in the hands of people who belong neither to the police nor to the national army. We shall have to begin, therefore, to take those weapons away from the people who obtained them illegally, even before we can restore democracy. And that can be done only with the support of the people.

[Question] I suggest that we end this conversation with a few questions on foreign policy. Under your reign, will Iran form alliances -- in the name of realism -- with regimes that have little to commend them from the point of view of democracy?

[Answer] You remember the famous dictum uttered about the Westminster regime: "His Majesty's government have no permanent enemies; they have no permanent friends; they have only permanent interests." There are, of course, limits to such cold realism, if only because Iran's geopolitical position imposes certain preferences upon us. And the preference for which I spontaneously opt -- as you know full well -- is the free world.

Having said that, I believe, more generally, that we must learn to deal with the various great powers according to the kinds of problems that arise for us, and not to engage in exclusive alliance with any of them.

[Question] What objective, in your view, is the USSR pursuing in the Gulf region?

[Answer] The same one it has pursued for a very long time: access to warm seas. Look at the way the USSR is moving its pawns. It's a pincers movement. But if the geopolitical position of the USSR makes it possible to understand its "interest" in this region, the interest of my country demands that it be able to preserve its independence.

[Question] Which do you think poses the greater threat to the Persian Gulf: the Khomeynist revolution or Soviet expansionism?

[Answer] Both. But, insofar as Khomeyni is concerned, I think his movement can have a devastating, contagious effect on the entire Persian Gulf. And that is why we must stamp out the source of that contagion at the heart, and that forthwith. By the "source," I mean in Iran itself.

[Question] During your father's reign, we used to call Iran the "policeman" of the Persian Gulf. Would Iran under you continue to play that role?

[Answer] I would remind you that Iran never sought that role. It was, on the contrary, constrained to shoulder the responsibility. I don't believe, for example, that the Sultanate of Oman ever had any complaints as to the military aid my country lent it in 1973, when it was threatened with destabilization.

What I do hope, for the future, is that the Emirates will contribute better than they are doing now to their own security, and thereby free us, at least partially, of that burden.

We have also been charged with being overarmed, of succumbing to the headiness of power. But you see what is happening today: Iraq is a lot better armed than we are! And had we not, during the years of my father's reign, taken care to provide ourselves with a remarkable military machine, we should have been literally crushed by the Iraqi army.

[Question] Just who is to blame for the Iran-Iraq war? Teheran or Baghdad?

[Answer] Responsibility for triggering hostilities is clearly Iraq's. Iran -- be it remembered -- has never in its recent history been expansionist. And even when we had the best equipped and most powerful army in the Persian Gulf, we never once resorted to arms to get our views accepted.

There is also, though, a purely Iranian responsibility involved, in that the Khomeyni regime stubbornly insists on pointlessly prolonging this murderous war: on the one hand, because it sincerely hopes to export its "revolution," and a military defeat would tarnish what it perceives as its prestige; and on the other hand, because as long as the war goes on, the army is "busy" and poses no threat.

[Question] Do you favor the establishment of American land bases in the Gulf region?

[Answer] No. Sincere relations with Washington are quite enough. Why should we stir up "anti-imperialist" sentiments to no good end by acceding to an American physical presence in our region?

[Question] Don't you get the feeling that France has taken a truly historic risk in signing a natural gas contract with Moscow that will make it dependent on Soviet good will for the next 25 years?

[Answer] It is not my place to judge French policy. In fact, the real problem with this kind of contract, as you know, is that it maximizes economic advantages while minimizing political risks. This is why you cannot assess these issues of energy dependence except in the global context.

[Question] Could you explain what you mean with an example?

[Answer] Certainly. Let's consider, if you will, the Iran-USSR-Western Europe triangle. Things are simple: Iran exports gas to the USSR, which, in turn, exports it to Western Europe. If Iran is a Western ally, it can threaten the USSR with a cutoff of gas; and by the same token, the threat to cut off gas deliveries which the USSR might invoke vis-a-vis Europe would not have the same credibility. In other words, Iran's belonging to the free world camp acts -- to the advantage of the Europeans -- as an insurance policy. As you see, the problem is indeed global.

[Question] Have you one final word to add, Majesty?

[Answer] I should like to say simply, to everyone who reads this interview, that I do not seek to return to power out of personal ambition: of power and its charms I have already tasted. What I want, as a patriot, is the welfare of my people, who can bear no more suffering.

I fear neither danger nor death. I live only through and for Iran. And I have confidence because I believe in destiny.

My short experience, however, has taught me to help destiny. Gen de Gaulle once said: "Since circumstances are not favorable, well, then, let's change the circumstances."

That is precisely what I am engaged in doing.

FRENCH MINISTER BLASTED FOR TALKS WITH SADDAM, KING HUSAYN

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 14 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN. (IRNA)-- French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson zipped to Baghdad at the end of a hasty stop-over in Amman and talks with King Hossein of Jordan.

The arrival in Baghdad of the French official, at the backdrop of hectic battles in the war fronts between the Iranian troops and Iraq's army has raised comments in political circles.

Cheysson has said explicitly that France is concerned about the future of Saddam Hossein and his government in Iraq.

IRNA'S COMMENTS:

In the wake of the victorious Val Fajr operations and the rising anxiety of the colonialist supporters of Saddam's shaky regime the French foreign minister, has arrived in Baghdad in an impromptu visit and in order to review the aftermath of an eventual falling of the Iraqi regime and its inherent damages to the interests of France and other reactionary governments of the region. He is also in Bagdad possibly to give more promises of arms sales to the Iraqi regime upon the credit of the reactionary governments in the region, and thereby give false hopes to disturbed officials in Bagdad.

Cheysson who had stopped over in Amman on Friday

conferred with king Hossein who himself has met and talked with Saddam just a short time ago.

Cheysson met king Hossein primarily to encourage him to maintain his support for Saddam. Hossein had formerly vowed his unqualified support for the Baathist regime in Iraq.

Commenting to reporters the French foreign minister whose government is the principal supplier of arms to Iraq, said Paris was worried about Iran's eventual triumph in the war, and noted also that some of the Mid-East states are equally worried about the conflict.

Cheysson, represents a socialist government which has unwarrantedly posed itself as the guardian of the Muslim peoples in the region and whose gunmen are now strategically supporting the regime occupying Qods and are safeguarding an imperialistic and Zionist sort of peace in occupied Lebanon.

In his talks with King Hossein, the French minister, said nothing about the Muslim and oppressed masses in Iraq and elsewhere, or about the rights of the masses for determining their own fate, but rather emphasized French support for puppet regimes in the region in the interest of the oppressive world powers and for curbing every possible development likely to jeopardise their interests.

PERSPECTIVES OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA REVIEWED

Tehran IRAN PRESS DIGEST in English 15 Feb 83 pp 18-20

[Interview with IRI Ambassador to PRC 'Ali Khorram]

[Text] Iranian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China who has just returned from China expressed his views about relation between Iran and China, the Moslem population in China, China's relation with the United States and the Soviet Union, Taiwan's question and the Chinese Premier's recent trip to several African nations. Following are the highlights:

Mr. Ali Khoram, the Iranian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China said that he was appointed to the post about seven months ago and during that time he has tried to get a deep understanding about the country so that it would be possible to evaluate it independent of what has been said about China from the Western and Eastern sources. Asked about the fields in which the relation between Iran and China can be expounded the Ambassador said that both countries share similar political views on many issues such as Afghanistan, Palestine, south Africa, Folkland Islands, and on opposing super powers on their schemes about imperialism. On Afghanistan question we want the occupying forces leave the country and let the people decide their fate. On Israel's aggression in Lebanon both countries feel that it is the United States that supports Israel in the region and when Israel attacked southern Lebanon, China condemned the United States in the United Nations for supporting Israel and sided with the Palestinians. Chinese pressed supported Palestinians and demanded immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. They even believe in an independent Palestinian nation and according to some information financial aid has also been offered to them. China and Iran both oppose the racist policies followed by South Africa. On the international problem we always oppose expansionism policies followed by the super powers.

In economic field there are many areas where China and Iran can cooperate close since Iran is one of the countries of the third world and we would like to become self-sufficient. China also has been trying to stand on its feet and we can benefit from their experiences in agriculture and rural development. We can even bring in Chinese experts to help us in our development programs. Their technology and equipment are compatible with ours in many areas and can be used by us. China has based its foreign policy largely

on cooperation with the third world countries and is willing to expand its relation with there countries to greater extent.

In cultural field the relation between Iran and China has a history of several thousand years. In the history, culture and literature of both countries there are many instances of chose relation and the famous Silk Rood was indicative of interests and good relation between the two countries. For this reason this road and itinerary must be revived. When there are no clashes of interest between us, then the relation between the two nation be expanded even more.

Asked about the lot of Chinese population the Ambassador said that their situation has improved somewhat compared to what it was during the cultural Revolution. At that time mosques were closed down and Moslem were not permitted to practice their religion. After the cultural Revolution there restrictions were relaxed. Today the Moslem can attend their mosques, celebrate their religious holidays, have animal slaughtered according to Islamic instruction, and participate in congregational prayers and Friday prayers. In China there is a center called China's Islamic Society which is representative of Chinese Moslem population. This society has a legal status and can talk about its problems with the government. There are 13 million Chinese who are members and majority of them are in a southwestern province of China. Recently a new faculty for Islamic theology has been founded and some of its professors are graduates of the AlAzhar University in Cairo, Egypt. They will educate "Akhoond" this term in Chinese has exactly the same meaning as it does in Persian language which means "clergy" there are other words that are both in Chinese and Persian, like the morning prayer that they call it "Pegah" which is a Persian word meaning early morning. It is because probably Islam reached China through Iran and Afghanistan. It is interesting to know that some Islamic scholars in China told us that a clergy in China after learning Chinese and Arabic, the next language that he must learn is Persian. Some of the Chinese Islamic scholars are familiar with Persian language and in the past knowledge of this language indicated a high position for that individual.

After the victory of Islamic Revolution a mission from the China's Islamic Society has come to Iran every year. This year the Assistant Director of the society will come to participate in the fourth Anniversary of the Islamic Revolution for they believe that this celebration for all the moslems of the world. They are happy about the expansion of relation between the two countries which will cause an increase in relation between the Moslems of China and Iran. The Ambassador said that Iranian Embassy has tried to inform Chinese authorities, diplomatic mission, news center and the mosques of the happenings in Iran such the war between Iran and Iraq. Newspaper clippings, and Embassy's publications in English and Chinese are distributed as far as Chinese laws permit. We believe that exchange of missions between the two countries should be increased.

Asked about China's relation to the United States and the Soviet Union the Ambassador said that by criticizing United States' stand on Taiwan, Hong Kong, Palestine, Israel, Afghanistan, South Africa and Malvinas (Folkland) Island,

the policies of that country have been condemned by China. The Soviet Union's stand in places where territorial integrity of a country such as Afghanistan has been violated has also been severely condemned by China. Recently China has placed greater emphasis on the Third World country and wants to expand its relation with them in order to put on stop to the influence of the Superpower in Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Third World countries. The Ambassador said that the goals of the People's Republic of China must be sought in relation to itself and not in relation to being under domination of America or Russia. Of course it is true that China wants to have relation with western countries and America so that it could exchange technology and improve the country.

Asked about the Views of Chinese authorities in regard to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Ambassador said that the position of Chinese authorities is to support the Islamic Republic of Iran under the leadership of Imam Khomeini. They have declared this officially and are willing to take similar steps toward world problems in the frame of common goals by Iran and China.

As for his evaluation of Taiwan's problem the Ambassador said that the United States or the West have always tried to use Taiwan as a winning card against communist China in the hope of achieving their aims. It is true that America uses Taiwan as a lever against China, but the importance of this strategic Island for America and western countries must not be overlooked, for they want to keep this island as a place to maintain their influence. Nevertheless we believe that the People's Republic of China will be successful in keeping this island.

Asked about evaluation of China about the Islamic Revolution of Iran the Ambassador said that China according to the policy it followed believed that the Shah's regime was one that could stand against the Soviet Union and in this respect they had common goods and regard the government as the government of Iran and believed that Russian could knock down the Shah. Even after the victory, the Revolution they still did not believe that it was not from the Russian but that there was a third idea which was neither Russian nor American. It was then that Chinese analysis about Iran deepened, especially after the strong position Iran adopted against the Russian in regard to Afghanistan. The Chinese then recognized the Revolution and the government and today are interested to have close relation with Iran and admire Iran's policy of "neither West nor East."

Asked about the reflection of the news of the Islamic Republic of Iran the Ambassador said that Chinese mass media have continuously dealt with news about Iran. Even documentary films such as victories that Iran had in war were shown in Chinese television. The Ambassador said that China's position toward the war between Iran and Iraq neutral and for this reason broadcast news about the war from both Iran and Iraq. But about Iran's domestic news they have adopted a friendly position and in their news bulletin there are regularly five news items about Iran. The subjects that Hojjat-El Islam Val

Moslemia Hashemi Rafsanjani deal with in his Friday prayers are mostly reflected in the press and news bulletins. Iran's progress in industrial and agricultural fields and the steps taken toward self-sufficiency are reflected in Chinese press and all in all it can be said that they have a friendly attitude toward Iran.

Jumhoori Islami newspaper

CSO : 4-17-369

PROSECUTOR-GENERAL TALKS ABOUT 'CONFESSIONS OF KGB SPIES'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN (IRNA) - Clear confessions have been made by the spies who had been arrested recently, said prosecutor general of the Islamic Revolutionary Court - Musavi, Tabrizi

Tabrizi said these spies have confessed that they were working for the countries of the Eastern Bloc

The prosecutor general said relevant documents are in the files of the accused

He was commenting on the arrest of some top leaders of pro-Soviet Communist Party (Tudeh)

He said some of the accused were planning to flee the country through forged documents

ments

He said the accused are currently being interrogated and as soon as the indictment is completed they will be set for trial

Secretary general of the Tudeh Party Nureddin Kianuri and his party's ideologist Ehsan Tabari along with other party members were arrested on charges of spying for the KGB

On the future of the Tudeh Party he said the party can introduce other genuine members for the leadership to the Interior Ministry. The party's activities will be allowed according to the law, he said

CSO: 4600/336

TEHRAN DERIDES SAUDI EFFORTS ON ECONOMIC CRISIS

GF011312 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 28 Feb 83

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The capitalist international arrogance is cheering for the oil crisis which has involved prices set by the OPEC conferences. They believe that the United States and the European group will witness an economic detente as a result of the drop in prices to their lowest expected level.

Economic circles in Europe and the United States attributed the economic crisis in their countries to the sudden rise in oil prices following the victory of the Islamic revolution and the drop in the production of Iranian oil. Since March 1979, the capitalist world has been experiencing an economic crisis which has affected all economic sectors. Recession and slump has soared and unemployment has penetrated all European and American societies without exception. The unemployment rate rose to an unbelievable level. Economic growth and development in the industrialized countries came to a halt as a result of the financial situation because of the sharp rise in oil prices. Production in the superpowers dropped sharply as a result of the bankruptcy of major commodity-producing factories. The share of production companies in the losses equalled those of the industrialized countries, which were badly affected by the economic crisis.

The crisis has been eating into the capitalistic world's economy in an unprecedented manner. It was sure to threaten capitalism as a whole if continued or gained more momentum as a result of the world's successive political crises. This propelled the capitalist countries to seriously seek an end to the economic crisis. They found that the best way to do this is to penetrate the barrier of oil prices; thus began the search for the hole in the OPEC wall.

The solution the imperialist countries found is to rely on the Saudi regime to provide a way out of the economic crisis. This regime has repeatedly tried to play with the balance of prices, but without success. It increased its oil production to more than 14 million barrels per day to create more oil in the market. The regime also reduced its oil price to the lowest level and asked its allies in the Persian Gulf to adhere to its price policy. When Saudi Arabia's attempts to force the OPEC countries to succumb to the prices

which imperialist countries want failed, the regime tried to use OPEC to (?break) the crisis. It called for lowering prices by \$2 per barrel 2 years ago at Christmas time. The regime persisted in its policy of preferring the imperialist interests to those of the region's peoples, particularly those of the Arabian Peninsula who are starving at the same time they are living above a lake of oil. All efforts by sincere parties to make the Saudi regime return to reason and adopt a reasonable attitude in drawing up its political and economic policy did not succeed. The regime maintained its policy and the crisis continued--indeed it gained momentum--with more involvement by this regime in the plot.

At a time when imperialist capitalist circles were waiting for an economic detente, the Saudi regime was planning things according to its unilateral policy within the OPEC and by calling on its Gulf allies to adopt an oil policy favourable to the interests of international arrogance. Thus came the recent meeting in Riyadh, which included the Gulf oil ministers and the Ba'thist oil minister and which was a competition of the Saudi plan to save the imperialist economy from total collapse.

In this meeting, it was decided to reduce the OPEC oil price by \$4. In case OPEC rejects the Saudi-Gulf-Ba'thist plan, these countries will lower the price of their oil to \$27 per barrel. The question is: For whose sake is this regime adopting this unsuccessful method? Is there a legitimate interest for the Arabian peninsula people or for the region's peoples in this mad policy, or do the interests of the masters have preference over those of the deprived people who see their national wealth being squandered on the altar of imperialist interests?

CSO: 4604/14

TEXT OF NEW BUDGET PUBLISHED

Tehran IRAN PRESS DIGEST in English 15 Feb 83 pp 13-17

[Part II]

[Text] Problems and Basic Constraints: Parallel to the considerable progress in some sectors, the Government was also faced with basic problems in some cases. Shortage of specialists, non-specific nature of land supply position, short supply of construction materials and their improper distribution, shortage of spare parts of construction and road building machinery, deficiencies in foreign trade, shortage of foreign exchange, disinclination of contractors to complete the unfinished projects, obstruction by foreigners in procuring foreign implements and parts, lack of proportion in the organisational and executive systems with the collection of duties and functions of the post-revolutionary government, non-existence of data and statistics, and impoverishment of the country in terms of the scientific, economic and social information-giving systems are among a host of problems being confronted by the Government. It was under such conditions that the Government, while benefitting from the previous experience in planning and duly observing the policies and strategies mentioned below has, formulated the 1362 Budget.

These policies and strategies are as under:

1--Prevention of consumerism, emphasis on investment, and continuance of contentment in all spheres. 2--To treat agriculture as focal point of development. 3--To lay emphasis on promotion of research and strengthening the spirit of research in scientific, cultural and technical fields, and guiding research programs for carrying out suitable projects in order to resolve economic and social problems, and to generalise and impart the acquired results to the people and executive organisations. 4--To expand supplementary production activities and rural and tribal industries for boosting the revenues of rural and tribal people. 5--To support Islamic revolutionary institutions. 6--To set up link between various economic sectors for meeting the reciprocal needs of sectors. 7--To boost utilisation, improvement and maintenance of the present industrial, agricultural, educational and cultural capacities in the direction of developmental objectives. 8--To spend national resources on productive and non-reliant investments, dependent upon suitable technology and specialised domestic manpower, with limited market. 9--To observe importance and priority in planning the return of the war-hit refugees to the liberated regions and the

areas to be liberated, and to reconstruct within the rebuilding frame work the production units and regions devastated by war. 10--Distribution of capital funds among various regions and social groups in the interest of the deprived groups and proportionate to domestic resources. 11--To strive for increasing the non-oil revenues through equipping domestic financial resources such as taxes, hike in the revenues from profitable firms, and to bring down the firms running at loss. 12--To provide opportunities for the promotion of non-oil exports such as carpets, dry fruits, fresh fruits, handicrafts, industrial products, and other suitable commodities. 13--To prevent the wastage of capital, manpower, and materials through stressing the improvement of management, change, renewal and reformation of setups of various institutions, and to boost the personnel efficiency and further utilisation of the existing capacity of executive bodies. 14--To create productive jobs for jobless but active workforce through implementing suitable projects. 15--To support and encourage the creation and expansion of small scale production units. 16--To stock basic and essential goods including strategic food stuff, industrial raw materials, essential materials, to determine the minimum amount of the needed stocks in the light of the foreign exchange resources, to increase the physical resources such as warehouses, cold storages, and trucks, and to equitably distribute these resources in proportion to the needs of various regions of the country. 17--To direct financial and cash resources of banks in productive fields in coordination with the economic, social and cultural development programs. 18--Assessment of potential resources of the country for accurately planning their utilisation. 19--To make efforts for utilising natural gas instead of other fuels in implementing development projects.

General Priorities of 1362 Development Budget: In order to attain the above mentioned objectives, the following priorities have been planned: 1--Since re-construction of the war hit regions enjoys special significance in the First plan, the projects related to the war-hit areas have priority. 2--Economic independence and reducing foreign dependence is one of the main objectives of the First Plan of the IRI. In order to attain this goal, the following priorities have been announced as essential in the selection of projects: a) The projects which help expansion of agricultural sector b) the projects that relate to the production of strategic goods (to the limit needed and in accordance with the listed basic goods) c) the projects related to the completion of the productive chains d) the projects that strengthen the bond among various sectors in terms of the flow of commodities e) the projects that lead to an increase in non-oil exports or a reduction in imports f) the projects which, in proportion to significance and volume of each project, require less amount of foreign exchange. 3--Bringing about and maintaining social justice is a very important objective in the First Plan of the IRI. To realise this objective, the observance of the following priorities is essential: a) the projects that speed up and expedite progress in the deprived regions b) the projects which help in lessening the gap in the incomes among various groups through increasing the revenues of the oppressed classes (especially the rural and tribal people). 4--To boost the defensive power of the country is among the basic objectives of the First Plan of the IRI. Therefore, the projects, which boost the defense power of the country or help in preserving the frontiers of the IRI,

have been given priority. 5--Since total and proper utilisation of the existing capacities can, with less expenditure, extend an effective help to the economic development, observance of the following priorities has been suggested: These are such projects for which there exists a greater chance of exploiting the potential capacities, especially machineries and workforce. 6--The projects which are directly effective in procuring the workforce needed by the country in short-term period.

Priorities Relating to Projects Under Way: These are as under: 1--The projects which aim at further coordinating the objectives of the five year plan. 2--The projects whose executive operations have been completed to a large extent. 3--The projects that have a greater positive and direct effect on other 1362 projects. 4--The projects whose suspension of executive operations leads to extraordinary investment in their recommissioning.

Characteristics of 1362 Budget Bill

The 1362 Budget Bill has the following characteristics in comparison to the bills that were presented previously:

1--In 1361, "The National Budget" was presented whereas in earlier years, only "General Budget of Government" was presented. Presentation of the "National Budget" leads to the fact that the Majlis deputies are informed of the position of the funds, and the profit and loss of a bulk of the Government organisations that function within the framework of "company".

2--In earlier years, generally the task of formulating the budget of various organisations has been carried out by the financial and administrative units of ministries and Government organisations. However, for 1362, in most cases planning units, officials of councils and planning bodies of various sectors have prepared the sectoral and regional budget. Link between programs, and budget has culminated, in the light of the focus on the development of the agricultural sector in the programs, in our observing an eye-catching upsurge in the funds allocated to the agricultural and water sectors. The development funds of these two sectors were raised from 51.7 and 56.3 billion rials in 1361 to 93.5 and 92 billion rials respectively in 1362, and thus we observed a rise of 81% and 63.4% in them respectively. Greater attention has this year been paid to higher education, research, and technical and vocational training in the light of the role these three sectors play in producing workforce and providing the prelude to self-sufficiency. Due to this reason, the development funds of these three sectors in 1362, as compared to 1361, have been collectively increased by 65.8%. Also the Government has, in the public health and therapeutical field, and in physical education and sports, boosted its constant investments, as compared to 1361, by 51% and 60% respectively. Similarly, in the housing sector, in the light of the funds allocated towards completing the low-priced housing units, we witness a 32% rise as compared to 1361. In general, the Government, in its development activities, is confronted with a series of the semi-completed projects, and in view of the colossal investments already made in them, these projects should be compulsorily completed.

But in 1361, new plans and projects are such that the planning councils and bodies have, to a large extent, reviewed them and have endorsed the absolute need for their execution. In other words, the 1362 Budget as well as the projects and plans, which are to be started this year, have been designed and are to be initiated with due regard to the 20-year plan. There is no doubt that had we not kept this long-range perspective plan, a bright future could not have awaited this country and its economic and social sectors.

3--A change in the budgetary contents has brought about an evolution in the form of the Budget Bill and framework in which the budget of various organizations have been presented. In some cases, the titles and chapters of the Budget Bill are different from those of the past years. For example, mention can be made of the "chapter on Education" which has the following three separate and independent parts in the 1362 Budget: 1--Education. 2--Technical and vocational training. 3--Higher Education. Also in 1362, the "war Budget" has been bifurcated from the budgets on "refugees of the imposed war", "reconstruction of war regions" and other war expenditures.

4--One of the interesting characteristics of the 1362 Budget is the ratio between the current and the development funds. In 1361, the ratio between the development and current funds was 42% whereas this ratio has been altered in 1362 as it has gone up by 54% meaning thereby that greater development activities are to be undertaken with less current expenditures.

Financial Highlights of 1361

It is anticipated that in 1361, Government revenues would be to the tune of 2296.4 billion rials, with the payments being 3295.0 billion rials. Consequently the deficit in this year would be 998.6 billion rials of which 566.4 billion rials would be procured through loans from the banking system. According to the existing estimates, Government revenues from oil exports, by the end of 1361 would be 1464.5 billion rials, tax revenues 605.7 billion rials, and other revenues 226.2 billion rials, Government's current expenditures are estimated to be 1900 billion rials, its constant investments nearly 850 billion rials, and war expenditures about 545 billion rials.

General Framework of 1362 Budget

In the 1362 Budget, the following amounts have been approved: current activities and Government's war expenditures 2342.5 billion rials; development activities and reconstruction of war areas 1262.6 billion rials. In this way, the Government's expenditures in 1362 are estimated to be 3606.1 billion rials, that is, nearly 419.1 billion rials more than that of 1361.

The Government revenues in 1362 have been anticipated as under: Oil exports 1833 billion rials; taxes 712 billion rials; other sources, nearly 385.5 billion rials. In this way, the Government's total revenues in 1362 is estimated to be 2950.5 billion rials, i.e. nearly 383.9 billion rials more than those of 1361. Also in 1362, revenues and expenditures of state controlled firms would be 2183 and 2051.4 billion rials respectively. There would be a deficit of 676.4 billion rials, and it is anticipated that a sum of 160 billion rials, out of that, would be met from the funds brought forward from

previous years, and another 250 billion rials through economisation in executing the 1362 budget. In this way, the 1362 budget deficit is anticipated to be 264.6 billion rials which, as compared to the 1361 estimates (576 billion rials) has been reduced by 302.4 billion rials.

It is essential to inform the Majlis deputies that the Government views the budget deficit from two angles: First, the budget deficit leads to an increase in cash and acts as an agent of inflation. Second, it is a device to flourish the economy and employment. Several meetings held by the Government officials have resulted in the fact that access to the objectives of the Five-Year Plan and the essential development, that we ought to achieve, make it imperative for us to utilise the budgetary deficit. In our opinion, this deficit is justifiable. The Government has tried to restrict the current budget of 1362 at 2242.5 billion rials whereas it was 3458 billion rials in 1361. Similarly, the development budget in 1362 have been boosted to 1262.6 billion rials from 1020 billion rials in 1361. In other words, a decline of 4.7% has been made in the current budget, and a hike of 22.5% in the development budget. Another point to mention is that the budgetary deficit is usually advantageous to funds in agricultural, educational and water sectors, as also to implement major projects such as the Bandar Khomeini Petrochemical complex, Mobarakeh steel mill, and to meet the war expenditures. In the light of the Government sensitivity towards the speedy and timely implementation of programs and to attain the objectives of the Islamic Revolution, efforts have been made through the help of various mechanisms to boost development funds, and to hike the educational and public health funds in the current budget. However, there have also been attempts to minimise the budgetary deficit since the inception of the Revolution four years ago. We are hopeful that these efforts of the Government officials, while not slowing down our economic, social and cultural progress, would also lead to a decline in the growth of cash in the society, and would result in acquiring the satisfaction of the Muslim nation of Iran and its representatives.

The last point is: the public-serving Government considers that real economic social and cultural progress can be achieved only through further boosting the values resulting from the Islamic Revolution, and that efforts to administer the country and to expand its economic growth would materialise only when this jihad (religious effort) is placed under the cover of the ideological values and on the basis of the guidance shown by "Velayat-e-Faghih" (Religious Leadership). In other words, in this sphere, the principles and aspirations of the Revolution should be paid attention more than a growth in statistics alone cannot be indicative of the expansion of social justice in the country and if our Islamic Revolution is a revolution staged by the oppressed against the oppressors, then leaning towards the direction in which the Islamic Government could gain maximum support from the oppressed masses of the society is the most fundamental issue worth attention of course, the specific direction of the national budget has great significance for the economic, political and cultural trend of the country. But the thing that can be more decisive than the Budget Bill in our Islamic society is the enlivening of the slogans related to Islamic justice in the society--the slogans

which alongside such slogans as "Neither East, or West, Islamic Republic", "Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic" constitute the inseparable part of our Islamic Revolution. In this respect, you deputies, in your capacity as the voice of the risen-up and self-sacrificing nation, shoulder the greatest task, while the public-serving Government, alongside the Majlis, is ready to make efforts for the realisation of aspirations inherent in these slogans. (Ettela'at, Jan. 25)

CSO: 4600/366

PERSPECTIVES OF IRI-TUDEH RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Tehran IRAN PRESS DIGEST in English 15 Feb 83 pp 21-25

[Text] In conclusion of this survey, it is essential for us to respond to some questions that exist about the Tudeh Party of Iran (TPI) and a few of them were posed by our readers, though from our viewpoint, answer to all of these questions has already been given indirectly in various parts of this survey. These questions are as under:

Q: What type of relationship does exist between the Soviet Embassy in Tehran and the TPI?

A: In the preceding week, some of the TPI leaders were arrested on the charge of spying for the Soviets. The documents and papers based on which these charges have been levelled are not at our disposal but the previous experiences in the other countries and Iran show that the Soviet intelligence organisation usually do not make use of the recognised leaders of various communist parties as spies. There is, however, no doubt in the fact that the TPI, through its agents in different organisations, has access to some of the classified information, and it is natural that a pro-Moscow communist party puts useful information at the disposal of various sister-parties, especially the CPSU, but there is doubt in the fact that such information could reach Moscow through the Party leaders and the Soviet Embassy officials in Tehran.

In the past, especially in the early years of the 1940, when the Iranian soil was under Soviet occupation, the Embassy officials were in direct contact with the Tudeh Party leaders Dr. Fereidoun Keshavrz, one of the members of the TPI Central Committee in those years has disclosed a part of these contacts in his memoirs.

Also during the court trial of the member-officers of the TPI military network in the mid-fifties, there were obtained such documents which showed that some of the military secrets, desired by the Soviets were gathered by the member-officers of this network. However, these officers never had any contact with the Soviet officials. In the light of the fact that this issue is related mostly to the Stalin era, and due to the reason that major changes have, since then, been brought about in the ties of the Soviet Government and the CPSU with the sister-parties, it cannot be said with confidence that ties might be still in existence.

Last year, following the asylum-seeking of one of the Soviet Embassy officials from Tehran in Britain too, there were spread rumours on the link of the Soviet Embassy in Tehran with the TPI, but these rumours were not based on any documents, considering the above points, it is not imagined that there might exist a direct link at present between the Soviet Embassy and the TPI.

There is no doubt that Soviet officials in Tehran closely watch the TPI activities in Tehran and dispatch their reports in this connection to Moscow. It is also natural they might receive orders in this respect from their centers but it does not appear that the Soviet Ambassador and his colleagues in Tehran could be in such a position where they could issue orders to the TPI or could seek opinion from that party on some of the issues.

The center which coordinates the policy of the TPI and other similar parties with that of the Soviet Union, is located outside Iran where the TPI too naturally has a member. To convey the decisions of this center to the TPI, there exist different ways, and certainly the Soviet Embassy medium is not the best and the worst reliable among them.

Q: Is it possible that the Soviet Union might put pressure on the IRI in support of the TPI?

A: In the days of Stalin, especially during the years of Iran's occupation by the Soviet forces, such a pressure did exist, but since then, there is available no document that could prove such an intervention. Throughout the course of the rule of the Shah (1953-1978), the Soviets, in their ties with the monarchical regime, didn't bring up the issue of the TPI. In the 1960s when the Shah tried, by granting privileges to the Soviets, to get silenced through it, the voice of the TPI outside Iran, the Soviet Government considered such an act to be beyond its competency. During this period the TPI-affiliated organisations were dismembered by the Savak officials, the Party leaders were held and some of them executed but the Soviet Embassy showed no reaction. Even simultaneous with these pressures, Radio Moscow spoke of expansion of cordial ties between the two countries.

At present too, it doesn't appear that the Soviet Government officials in Tehran or Moscow would take any action in support of the TPI. But there is much probability that the mass communication media of that country as well as other socialist states of the soviet camp could alter their tone vis-a-vis the IRI.

Currently, Radio Moscow and official press of the Soviet Union, despite all the difference of opinion, are maintaining a cordial tone towards Iran and are trying to avoid bringing tumultuous issues (including the expulsion of the "Tass" correspondent from Tehran last month). In view of this policy, it is not expected that they could make any mention to the arrest of the TPI leaders. However, other radio station, such as "National Voice of Iran", whose location is not known but which generally reflect the views of the TPI, might, along with similar publication of non-official nature, express their reaction in this respect.

Q: Why the Islamic Government of Iran cannot compromise with the TPI or, at least, tolerate its existence?

A: Officials of the Islamic regime of Iran, including Imam Khomeini, the President, the Prime Minister, the Majlis speaker and other, have never any favourable opinion about the TPI because on the one hand, they consider it as a Marxist, atheist and anti-religious Party. But according to the constitution, all the parties, to the extent where they have not committed any crime against IRI, can undertake activities within the specific framework and within the legal limits, and since the TPI has always depicted itself as the supporter of the Islamic Government and an adherent to the line of the Imam, there has existed no reason for checking its activities. The TPI has, since the early days of the victory of the Revolution and even prior to the establishment of the Islamic Government in Iran, tried on numerous occasions to bring itself close to Imam Khomeini but it has never been accepted in this effort. At the same time, the TPI has constantly endeavoured by exploiting the anti-American feeling of the government officials and taking advantage of the rights which have existed in the different factions of the current ruling regime, to find a place for itself among various power centers, but has not succeeded much in this sphere. In these tussles, the TPI has, in support of the religious faction of the government, lashed out at its opponents. For example, in case of the transitional Bazarhan Government, on the Bani-Sadr issue and in the bloody tussle with the Mojahedeen the TPI had constantly sided with the Imam and his chosen Government in the hope of finding its way into the Government organisation. The TPI claims that it had provided the officials of the Islamic Government with important information on anti-government coups, conspiracy by Bani-Sadr and his advocates, and on the recent plot by Ghotbzadeh. However, it doesn't appear that these services could have caused any shift in the IRI leaders' views towards this party.

It had been rumoured in the past that some of the prominent religious figures, like Hojjatol Islam Hashemi Rafsanjani or Hujjatol Islam Saiyed Mohammad Khomeiniha, hold positive opinion towards the TPI but the statements of these very personalities later denied these rumours. It was said that these rumours are being spread by the Tudeh Party members themselves and are aimed at boosting the image of the Party in the society. The Islamic Government cannot have a cordial policy towards the TPI since this is contrary to the principles on which the current regime is founded, that is, belief in Islam and reliance upon the "Neither East, Nor West" policy. If strong measures haven't been taken by the revolutionary courts against the TPI thus far, it was more related to the tactical policies rather than strategic ones, meaning thereby that the name and power of the TPI have been utilised against opponents at specific junctures of time without any shift being brought about in the general opinion towards the Party. It can, however, not be denied that the TPI was very effective in exposing and discrediting the liberalist current in Iran, and similarly in its struggle against other Marxist and radically fundamentalist groups. Most important of all, the hostile posture, which the TPI adopted, despite silence by the Soviets, on Saddam and Iraqi invasion against Iran, was very worthy internationally as well as in terms of reflection in global Marxist circles. It shouldn't be

forgotten that throughout all these events the TPI opponents within the set-up of ruling regime have been active. It were they who were instrumental in the seizure of the IRP Headquarters in 1980, the closure of its organ newspaper, and the imprisonment of some of its activist. These opponents exist at all levels, including the judiciary (especially the central Prosecutor's Office), the youths adherents of the Imam's line, the Ministries of Islamic Guidance and Foreign Affairs, or the Press etc.

Q: What are the points of agreement and difference between the TPI and the Islamic Government?

A: If the officials of the Islamic Government were to answer this question, they would say that there exists no point of agreement and understanding among their and TPI views, beliefs and policy. However, the response of the TPI leaders to this question is quite different. They believe that there is much similarity among the objectives sought by the Islamic regime and those of their own, apart from the existence of numerous common points, and the difference lies in the mode of attaining these objectives. They simplify this problem by saying that the "goal of both of them is to dispense justice, and to rid the deprived classes of the tyrannies of the tyrants. They proceed to attain this goal through their religious beliefs while we by way of the path of Marxism, and both of us would ultimately come together one day.

Perhaps these might not be the inherent beliefs of the TPI leaders but it is the simplified version of the views that are being expressed by them in different ways. Whatever the reality the issue is far more complicated than to be replied so simply. Presently there exist some deep rights between the viewpoints of leaders of the Islamic Government and the TPI over some issues. Among them are included: the issue of maintaining ties with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic which, in the opinion of the Islamic Government, is an aggressor super-power while the TPI considers it as the supporter of the toiling masses of the world, or over the issues of individual or collective ownership, the women's rights, worker-employer ties, land reforms, and their likes. In this way the TPI expectation for reaching some sort of agreement and understanding with the current leaders of the Islamic Government of Iran are not realistic, though both the sides enjoy common views on some issues such as struggle against imperialism, confrontation with the expansion of U.S. and Israeli hegemony, support of Palestinian people, backing the liberation movement, and attaching significance and validity to the third world and non-aligned states.

Q: What is the degree of power and influence of the TPI at present?

A: There exist numerous and conflicting rumours in this regard. Some Western circled, agents of the former regime and fundamentalist Muslime, who seek to make the public opinion in Iran, some of the regional governments and the Western World apprehensive of the expansion of the communist influence in Iran, speak exaggeratingly of the dimensions of the TPI influence in present day Governmental setup in Iran. They contend that the TPI has

secretly occupied most of the key posts in the Islamic Government, and they also have their agents even among the associates of the Imam. They say that the TPI has, under its influence, some of the current IRI leaders. Meanwhile, the Islamic leaders of Iran believe that the TPI enjoy no influence in Iran, and cannot show itself off in the face of Islam. They observe that public opinion of the Muslim nation of Iran is not only under the influence of the TPI but also strongly hates it.

If we were to objectively make judgement in this respect, we should say that none of the above views, in isolation, reflects the reality though each one of them is rooted in facts. Initially, we must accept that the TPI cannot be rated as a political power in the absence of the great power of the Soviet Union on the other side of the northern frontiers of Iran, and couldn't have been able to survive in the face of the past blows and pressures. However the TPI together with the Soviet Union are undoubtedly reckoned as a major factor on the present day political scene. In view of this reality, the power and influence of the TPI shouldn't be assessed purely in quantitative terms but due regard should also be given to its quantitative value.

In the present-day Iranian society, the TPI, in the light of the circulation of its publications and in view of the votes secured by it in the elections held during the early years of the Revolution, has nearly 500 thousand irregular supporters and about 50 thousand effective advocates. The number of its official members probably doesn't exceed ten thousand people but this group is composed of experienced individuals and a well disciplined organisation, and there is no paucity of specialists amongst them. The TPI has its agents in various government organisations revolutionary institutions and aided by the well-organised and shrewd system which is the product of its 10 year-long experience. It has spread its network everywhere. But it cannot be said that it possesses key positions. The organisational influence of the Party is mostly among the intellectual and workers union, but it doesn't enjoy any influence among the business community, the guilds, mosques, and farmers. The Party's information network functions systematically, and has had considerable progress in two spheres: First, influence among various organisations, and second, spreading rumours and creating an unfavourable atmosphere about the opponent personalities and groups.

Another factor for the power of the TPI is constituted by its publications that have much readership even among the neutral and opponent individuals. The experienced Party cadre, that mostly is conversant with several languages and is engaged in constant studies, timely criticises and reviews, political and social issues, and thus affects its readers.

What can, on the whole be said is that TPI is potential power which can, in case of a favourable atmosphere, progress speedily but presently, it is neither reckoned to be a power nor it can pose any danger to the regime.

USO: 46007312

MINORITIES CELEBRATE REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 7 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN -- "I praise the pious souls of the martyrs from among the religious minorities who sacrificed their lives for the independence of the Islamic Republic," said President Khamenei in a message which was released here yesterday.

The message which was read in a ceremony held by the Iranian religious minorities on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Islamic Revolution also said that the religious minorities had played an active role in realizing the objectives of the Islamic Revolution.

"Our enemies are right," continued the President "in recognizing the holy unity of Iranian people from all walks of life and religious minorities as a great obstacle to their unholy objectives and interests in our country."

"But all their plots to create discord among people

have been so far annulled due to the fact that the followers of monotheistic religions share the same and common stands.

"There is no doubt that next to dependence on God's power, it has been the decisive leadership of Imam Khomeini, a result of which is the unity of people that helped our nation to achieve victory."

"I pray to God Almighty to bestow His blessings upon you Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian brothers and sisters and grant you all success and dignity," Khamenei said in his message.

According to the same report, after the President's message was read, a top Mobad (religious leader) of Zoroastrian Iranians, Rostam Shahmuzzadi and the representatives of the Jewish and Christian people in the Majlis spoke to the audience on the achievements and objectives of the Islamic Revolution.

JEW'S DECLARE SUPPORT FOR ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 7 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN -- "There is a great distinction between the genuine Jewish people who are the true followers of the humane and anti-oppression teachings of Hazrat Musa (Moses) and the tyrannical invasive Zionists," said the deputy of the Iranian Jews in the Majlis, Khosrow Naqi yesterday, IRNA reported.

Naqi who was speaking in the yesterday's open session of the Majlis added that the vigilant Iranian Jews following the Divine decrees as introduced by Moses, were totally against any form of oppression and the trampling upon rights of the deprived nations.

"There is a big difference," he continued, "between what global Zionism is doing and the benevolent and anti-tyrannical teachings of Moses. The unity and deep relations of Iranian Jews with the Iranian people is a great blow in the mouth of the imperialists and their propaganda machines who fear and cannot see the unity and friendly relations between the religious minorities and the majority of the Iranian people."

Later, the deputy of Bokan (a city of Kurdistan Province), Muhammad Shavar-

ni, spoke as the next pre-session speaker. Listing down the requirements of the Kurdish people, he stressed that the people of Kurdistan were all supporting the Islamic Revolution and its leader, Imam Khomeini, and that there was a great distinction between honorable Moslem Kurds and the anti-revolutionaries in that area.

Referring to the plots of the foreign power to sow seeds of discord among the Iranian people, he remarked that those powers were all mistaken and would reap nothing out of their evil attempts due to the vigilance and unity of the Moslem revolutionary people who are totally faithful to the Islamic Republic.

Later, the Islamic Consultative Assembly convened a session in which several issues as well as a number of bills presented to the Majlis were discussed. According to the same report a bill concerning the transaction of goods and commodities between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Syria for the next ten years was approved.

REGIME PUBLICIZES POPULAR IDEOLOGICAL INITIATIVES

Briefing on Educational Progress

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, Feb 6 (IRNA) — Dr Shariatmadari, a member of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters, briefed the guests of the anniversary of the revolution, on the deficiencies and problems of the universities and the education system in Iran.

Shariatmadari, addressing the guests said that since the establishment of this organization, 30 books have been published on the education system and a number of the educational books are in the process of being published. He further said that a number of people who have graduated abroad and in Iran are also involved in educational endeavors.

Concluding he said that a number

of ulema have also been invited to supervise the programs and aid in the formulation of curricula in universities.

Later a member of the University Jihad read out the activities and the achievements of the organization.

He said, the University Jihad had made progress in research, which had never been done in the 50 years of the universities existence.

In technical and engineering fields, he said 480 plans had been designed, most of which have fallen under production schedule. Other research plans include 445 scientific, 345 medical, 350 agricultural and 80 human sciences plans.

Jews Support Islamic Republic

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] TEHRAN, Feb. 6 (IRNA)--The first speaker of the open session of Majlis today was the Jewish deputy, Khosrow Naqi. He said that conscious Jews of Iran who adhere to the teachings of Prophet Moses (A.S.), opposed any injustice and acts of aggression against the rights of the oppressed people. This distinguishes true adherents of Judaism from world Zionism, he added. He further referred to close ties between the religious minorities and other people of the country and said that such unity dealt a severe blow to world imperialism.

The Majlis deputy from Bukan, West Azerbaijan Province, Monammad Shavarani, said that enemies of the Islamic Republic of Iran have been trying to sow

discord among Shia and Sunni Muslims. He said they have been broadcasting that the Islamic Republic had not room for Sunni Muslims. However, contrary to such propaganda, Sunni and Shia Muslims of Iran both aim at promoting Islam and defending their rights, he added.

In another part of his speech, he said that the united people of Iran would thwart all plots against the Islamic Revolution and experience of the past is proof to this. Concluding his remarks he urged further unity among the Muslims.

Minorities Protect Revolutionary Gains

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] TEHRAN, Feb 6 (IRNA)--The religious minorities of Iran not only struggled to overthrow the ex-shah's regime, but also in the four years after the revolution have stood side by side their Muslim brothers, safeguarding and giving shape to the achievements of the Islamic Revolution.

President Khamene'i, addressing religious minorities of Iran on the occasion of the Ten Day Dawn ceremonies to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the victory of the revolution, further said that they (religious minorities) were an important factor in the victory of the revolution. He said the anti-revolutionaries are trying to create disunity on this holy bond, as they (anti-revolutionaries) believe it has put their resources in danger.

President Khamene'i, in a part of his speech pointed out that the anti-revolutionaries desired the disintegration of the religious bond, but their actions are in vain. He said fortunately the consciousness of the people have thwarted these satanic plots.

Subsequent to President Khamene'i's speech, a high Zoroastrian priest, Mr. Rustom Shimizady and some Jewish Majlis deputies, delivered speeches on the glorious anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran

Conference on Islamic Thought Held

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 7 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] TEHRAN, Feb. 6 (IRNA)--The first Iranian conference on Islamic thought opened here today marking the fourth anniversary of victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and as part of the "Ten Days of the Dawn" celebrations. The idea behind holding the three-day conference is to create ideological harmony among Muslims. The conference attended by a number of outstanding Islamic figures from various countries who are currently guests of the Islamic Republic, was inaugurated by Ayatollah Jannati, an ulema member of the Guardian's Council.

Ayatollah Jannati, was the first speaker of the conference who said that governments of Islamic countries which refuse to implement divine laws in their respective country, were against the Muslims.

Referring to un-Islamic conduct of certain governments in Muslim countries, Ayatollah Sane'i, the Prosecutor General of the Islamic Republic of Iran said Muslim people of these countries should not allow their governments to remain indifferent towards the oppressed masses. It is stressed in the Holy Quran that Muslims should not trust tyrants and oppressors because such elements were using the resources of Muslims for the benefit of the oppressors, he added.

Calling on the participants of the conference to resist deceit and the plots of the enemies of Islam, Ayatollah Sane'i talked about the achievements of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Officials of the Islamic Republic were the servants of the people and applied Islamic principles in all aspects of their lives, said Ayatollah Sane'ie.

Speaking on the Iraqi imposed war and the victories gained by the Islamic combatants, he said that the reason for their victories was their strong faith in God. He said this was just the opposite of the Iraqi regime and forces who were agents of U.S. imperialism and thus were doomed.

Mohammad Nakhaie from Malaysia talked about plots to destroy or corrupt Islamic societies. However, the Islamic Revolution of Iran, he added, proved that Islam was a dynamic religion and was able to reject injustice and establish Islamic justice.

The head of the Islamic Center of Senegal, Sheikh Touri, addressing the participants talked about situation in reactionary countries and added that it was painful that reactionary leaders were ruling Muslim people. Conduct of such rulers has posed a danger to the prestige of Islam. In another part of his speech he said that the U.S. and Soviet Union were enemies of Islam.

The Director of Muslim Institute of London Kalim Siddiqi, told the audience that all Muslims of the world could learn from the achievements of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

OSD: 4600/342

INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE REPORT NEW ADVANCES

Rotary Furnace Developed

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

ISFAHAN, Feb 6 (IRNA) — Iranian engineers and technicians at Pataleh factories have developed a rotary furnace for melting cast iron with a daily capacity of six tons.

The furnace's capacity can be increased to as much as 15 tons per day and uses mazut and gas-oil. All components of the furnace are made in Iran.

The factory also manufactures

various containers for storing pressurized gas and liquids, conventional containers, light and semi-light scaffoldings, industrial geysers and industrial hot water reservoirs.

The Pataleh factories have manufactured for the first time as much as one hundred tons of high-pressure metal pipes which are used in water piping and sewage systems.

Eighth Oil Refinery Planned

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN, Feb 6 (IRNA) — The Iranian Oil Ministry will design, construct and handle the daily operations of its 8th oil refinery. Deputy Oil Minister Musa Khayyer told IRNA here Saturday.

The \$1.3-billion project, to be constructed in Ilam Province southwest of Tehran will be completed in five years, he added. Preliminary surveys have already been completed and the contractor will be chosen within the next six months, he said.

Khayyer noted that when Abadan's refinery was destroyed by Iraqi invading troops, Iran's refin-

ing capacity dropped by more than 600,000 bpd. But he stressed, with the initiative of Iranian engineers all the bottlenecks were removed, enabling the refineries to operate 23 percent higher than their nominal capacity.

As an example, Khayyer mentioned that the nominal capacity of Isfahan refinery was 200,000 bpd. This was recently increased to 220,000 bpd.

Meanwhile, the research deputy at the Oil Ministry, Ahmad Nasir said that the 8th oil refinery will have a capacity of 200,000 bpd. The project's consultant was an Iranian company, he concluded.

Esfahan Projects Funded

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

ISFAHAN, Feb 6 (IRNA) — About 39.5 billion rials (over U.S. \$463m) has been sanctioned for more than 11,000 development projects in Isfahan Province. Most of the projects are being carried out and have been underway since the victory of the revolution.

Eng. Saifullahi, deputy director of development affairs of Isfahan Province, while announcing this here Saturday further said that the allotted figure is five times the amount of the seven-year plan for the province before the revolution. In spite of the shortage of machinery, equipment and construction materials, 61 percent of the funds has been utilized and by

the end of the year 1361 (March 21, 1983) 91 percent of the grants will have been absorbed in the development projects.

The deputy stressed that till now more than 60 percent of the amount had been utilized on villages and deprived areas, and the rest will be granted for cities situated around the desert areas.

This year 1361 (March 21, 1982 - March 20, 1983) 195 villages in Isfahan Province had been electrified, which was equivalent to the total number of villages electrified before the revolution, he concluded.

Agriculture Budget Approved

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] TEHRAN, Feb. 6 (IRNA)--Iran's agriculture budget for 1982-1983 is 153.4b rials (over U.S. 1.8 b dlrs).

Thirty-five percent of the budget, 60.2 b rials (over U.S. 700m dlrs) has been allotted for crop production, the remaining 65 percent, 93.2b rials (nearly U.S. 1.1.b dlrs) has been allocated for agro-development projects.

Dr. Abbass Ali Zali, Deputy Agriculture Minister in charge of planning in a press interview made the above statement while announcing the five year plan of the Agriculture Ministry.

He further said that the extent of what yield per hectare will be increased from 1.6 tons to 2.4 tons and paddy yield from 2.8 to 4 tons. The import of sugar, vegetable oil, meat, poultry and fish will be increased, he said.

The food industries will be centered in villages and by increasing cooperative stores and providing services for the industries, it will improve the well-being and welfare of the villagers.

Economic Diversification Hailed

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

TEHRAN (IRNA) — Oil The Islamic Republic of Iran has worked to change from a single-product economy to that of a

multi-product

Many efforts have been made to decrease the nation's economic dependency on oil. The defunct

shah's regime produced more than six million barrels a day. Presently, the Islamic Iran produces a maximum of 3.5 million barrels a day.

Agriculture. Iran's agricultural yields, once more than sufficient for the nation's needs, was utterly and intentionally ruined during the shah's reign. The nation was thus forced to rely on foreign countries for food supply and other essentials but, in post-revolution Iran, farmers were encouraged to produce maximum yields and this has been very successful. This year almost four million tons of beet root was harvested. Also plans have been implemented whereby it is expected that next year's rice harvest will increase to 3.5 million tons.

This year some 39 percent of non-oil exports comprised agricultural products, such as pistachios, grapes, apples, nuts, dried apricots and fruits and a number of other products as well as non-agro items like carpets, handicraft and metals. In 1362, the next Persian year, it has been planned to increase that figure to 63

percent.

Since the victory of the revolution 71,000 tractors have been distributed to the Iranian farmers, while in the 27 years of the defunct shah's regime, only 60,000 tractors were given to farmers.

A glimpse at the farmers' response to officials and especially Imam Khomeini on augmenting agro-efforts reveals that in Kurdish regions such as Mahabad, farmers planted 919,852 kilos of wheat, and sold it to the government this year.

Also in Gorgan and Gonbad, once plagued by the counter-revolution, farmers produced some 132,000 tons of cotton, a 30 percent increase indicating the stability of the region since the government rooted out the U.S.-backed splinter groups there.

In addition to these accomplishments, construction Jihad has constructed three silos in Tabriz, Takestan and Rasht, with a total capacity of 320,000 tons.

Fishing: the fish catch from the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf netted 28,000 tons of fish. This showed a 102 percent increase compared to the previous year.

INTERNAL POWER STRUGGLE ATTRIBUTED TO IRAQI WAR

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German No 33, 10 Feb 83 p 3

[Report by correspondent A.H.]

[Text] Nicosia, 8 February--The same day on which the first news came out about the new Iranian offensive against Iraq, the Tehran newspapers reported that the general secretary of the Iran Tudeh Party, Kianuri, had been arrested. A number of leading Iranian communists were arrested together with him, the reports said. Kianuri was reported to have been accused of espionage in behalf of the KGB. Nothing further has been announced concerning this matter, which had to take a backseat to the reports from the front about the resumption of the Gulf war.

Conservatives Against Revolutionary Clerics

Iranian domestic politics are dominated by the following trends. Two groups of clerics are vying for power and influence. They can be described as revolutionary and conservative clerics. The conservative ones have been gathered around the religious grouping Hojjatiyeh and hence are generally referred to as Hojjatian.

The leader and spokesman of the revolutionary clerics is considered to be Rafsanjani, the speaker of Parliament and plenipotentiary of Khomeyni on the Supreme War Council and next to Khomeyni one of the most powerful clerics in Iran. The Tudeh Party--that is, the Iranian communists loyal to Moscow--have been allies of Rafsanjani's revolutionary group, where as the Hojjatian have been, and doubtless continue to be their bitter enemies. The Tudeh Party, which supported Khomeyni from the beginning as "the man of the people"--without for that reason earning his favor in turn--were hoping, by taking his side, to overturn Iranian society in the name of the Islamic revolution and at the same time to export the revolution from Iran to the rest of the Muslim world. It was thought that support of this policy could also initiate cooperation with the Soviet Union and lead to social reforms and the establishment of a "people's army" with political commissars.

The conservative clerics aim at a traditional Islamic society. They consider the revolution to have been completed and want to consolidate the Islamic regime--under their leadership. For this purpose, they are prepared to cooperate with the few technocrats in Iran even if these, as almost all cadres from the time of the shah, were trained in the west and in the United States. The war against Iraq was not much to the liking of the Hojjatian since it prevented consolidation of the regime and stimulated the revolutionary trend.

Compromise Between the Two Groups?

The confrontation between the Hojjatian and the Tudeh Party has become more acute in the past few months. The communists accused the conservative clerics of seeking a rapprochement toward the Americans. The Hojjatian for their part sought to restrict the freedom of action of the Tudeh people, whom they believe to be godless atheists and servants of the Soviet Union, by suppressing their press and imprisoning their supporters and activists.

Khomeyni apparently has backed the Hojjatian in the past few weeks--for instance, by advocating that specialists return to Iran and perform there, without hindrance, their work which is so important for the country's economy, or when he turned against the dissaray of the revolutionary administration of justice, described it as "un-Islamic" and had numerous revolutionary prosecutors and judges removed for abuse of power.

As an advocate of "exporting the revolution" Rafsanjani has always supported the continuation of the war with Iraq. His most important pillar of power has been the Revolutionary Guards. The Hojjatian, in turn, support a different point of view, saying that the war is threatening to ruin Iran economically. If now at one and the same time it was possible for a "last" and, as they in Tehran, major offensive to be launched and, on the other hand, to deal a crucial blow to the Tudeh Party, this looks like a quid pro quo. It may be surmised that the Hojjatian were persuaded to consent to a "last" war effort but that in turn they received the assent of their revolutionary colleagues for the arrest of the leading Tudeh people.

What will happen to the leading communists remains to be seen. Possibly the revolutionary forces and supporters of the war allied with them are still strong enough to prevent their being sentenced. The result of the current military struggle also might easily become crucial for Kianuri and his friends, for it is likely that the influence of his revolutionary allies among the clerics will rise or fall depending on the outcome of the offensive.

GHASSEMLOO CHARGED WITH 'EXPLOITING' KURDS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 p 9

[Text] One wondered what was the point of that film on Britain's TV Channel 4 on Wednesday night about a group of Kurds fighting in the west of Iran. It only served to show that the Kurds we saw were fighting for a lost cause, and that any further western aid to them, on the mistaken grounds that it is help for a worthy nationalist cause, will only mean the loss of more young lives and more hardship for a people who have long lacked responsible leadership.

The sight of the wounded men and children was sickening. These Kurds once lived as ordinary compatriots of the Iranians they are now fighting, enjoying if they wished the same benefits that a prosperous Iran provided for so many Kurds in that country. The twaddle about the carpenter who said he used to have to get permission from officials to make even a window frame in the Shah's day, and that about the Kurds not being able to wear national dress then, should be seen for the tendentious lying for simple political purposes that it is. Officials did discourage the Kurds from teaching their children in their own language in schools and though Kurdish music and dancing and other Kurdish arts and crafts were not stifled they were not actively promoted outside the arts festivals to the extent that might have been expected; but Kurds in national dress could be seen every day even in faraway Tehran and other cities.

Why do the people who want to get the world's sympathy feel it is imperative to tell footling lies about life under the Shah? Surely we saw enough recent brutality and misery in the film to appreciate the tragedy of these people being so blatantly sacrificed for the political ambition of the suave Abdorahman Ghassemlou.

What did Ghassemlou get from this film? It certainly did him no good. It showed his men defeated and retreating, clinging to only a small area of wild terrain, accompanied by half a dozen or so Mojahedin ("filmed for the first time inside Iran") in Kurdish trousers, and claiming only four or five Iranian prisoners, including a boy of 13. What good did it all do? One felt a sense of anger that people should be encouraged to fight this useless war and so expose so many inoffensive fellow Kurds to the retribution of the mullahs.

Even if Khomeini goes on succeeding government in Tehran will hand over Iran's Kurdish areas for an autonomous republic. Nor will the Iraqi or Turkish governments hand over their Kurdish regions. There is no evidence that the majority of Kurds want this anyway. Their leaders would do better to work together with the rest of the nationalist anti-Khomeini forces to try to regain Iran from the mullahs and then negotiate for a reasonable amount of autonomy that would allow them to develop their ethnic identity within the Iran to which they now belong. The Iranian Kurds could then certainly look forward to unprecedented prosperity and a decent future for their children rather than sacrificing themselves for the futile vanity of people like Chasseinjo.

CSO: 4609/322

BRITISH PRESS EXAMINES FORMER IRANIAN ENVOY'S DIARIES

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 pp 8, 9

[Article by Teezbin]

[Text] Iranians will feel a wave of sympathy for their former envoy in London Parviz Raji, whose diaries were the subject last week of an article in the gossip London magazine TATLER and are also being serialised currently in the SUNDAY TIMES.

The former ambassador's writings suggest that much of the pleasure he got in entertaining flighty ladies and male social butterflies when he was at Prince's Gate was taken away by his obsessive worry about the human rights record of the late Shah's regime. This troubled his conscience so much that on one occasion, apparently, he flew back to an audience with the Shah to ask his permission to try to arrange for contacts between regime representatives and the magazine PRIVATE EYE, which was being rude about His Imperial Majesty, and with Amnesty International, who were being rather more than just rude.

"Torture, champagne and despair" was the heading the SUNDAY TIMES put on its opening snippets from his diaries. The huge one and a half page colour portrait of a cold-eyed Raji in the TATLER could well have had the last two of those things as a wry caption. Time has not dealt too kindly with the man his former boss called Iran's Robert Redford.

Of course, he was not to know that the SUNDAY TIMES would put on his story a headline that would bring such feelings of shame and anger to those of his compatriots who read it. If Ian Jack in the TATLER article quotes him correctly Raji didn't think much of journalists so probably he hadn't noticed their habits. Jack quotes him as describing one reporter as "smelly" and another as a "pimpily, chippy, insignificant little left-winger". Raji added that he wondered why he ever bothered with such people. One wonders why he bothers now with the TATLER and the SUNDAY TIMES...

If undiplomatic about the press Raji reveals he can still be diplomatic about some things. He told Jack that he played tennis and bridge and "dabbled quite a bit in counter-revolutionary politics." He has used his diplomatic skill to hide the latter fact away from his compatriots.

Raji, who uses the French way of spelling his name, putting a "d" before the j, perhaps to avoid being mistaken, God forbid, for an Indian, has resisted the temptation to try to make himself a national figure for Iranians by devoting his book totally to his country's tragedy. Rather he has modestly limited himself to a loose tale with a lot of social tittle-tattle, while making it clear to non-Iranians, of course, that he was always a good human being who was constantly troubled by that conscience while at the embassy. Again, he cannot be blamed for the fact that those foreigners who have read them see his writings as confirmation that a lot of brutality was going on during the Shah's time. Rahi was able, fortunately, to blot it all briefly out of his mind while he canoodled with a lot of London society's ladies, we gather.

The kind of deeply sensitive man he is is reflected by the story he tells of a visit to an old English family friend who remarked when he left, "The Shah is on Panorama tonight.... I expect he is going to lecture us again on our laziness." The remark brought on a "mood of anger and melancholy that persisted until I switched off the light to sleep." Thank goodness he wasn't prone to nightmares. For Raji must be truly a charitable Iranian. Though hundreds of people were libelling and slandering his country and his countrymen for all sorts of often imaginary and at worst exaggerated shortcomings, he seems upset by his king referring to a comparatively innocuous and endemic fault of Englishmen--laziness. One has to be a really generous spirit to think this way.

It was no wonder that the items recorded by the SUNDAY TIMES also include Raji's feelings of "something akin to horror" over the death of a swan on the Serpentine, especially when he found out the murderers were Iranians. One is deeply moved just reading him on this. He records the death of the swan's mate three weeks later...

With all these worries on his mind it is perhaps no wonder he mistakenly refers to Hushang Ansari as his country's foreign minister. Such a minor error is quickly forgotten in face of the dexterity of Raji's language. Expressions like "crise de conscience, mot juste, au courant, realpolitik" fall easily from his pen; not for him the banal adjectives--he finds a noble "inimitable minatory", Khaled of Saudi Arabia is the "valetudinarian king".

Poor Raji was only in the big time for a short spell. He had just two years as an ambassador after serving a tough apprenticeship as a sort of private secretary to Princess Ashraf and the late prime minister Hoveyda; in one stride he leapt most steps of the ladder into the London embassy. Jack quotes him as saying in an as yet unrevealed part of his diary as the Shah threatened to fall, "Gone forever will be the aura of elitist authority and importance which has glimmered, as if by divine right, round the heads of those of us who represented Iran's ruling classes." After two years he obviously felt he had really made it to the top and one's heart goes out to him now that he is forced to live in obscurity playing bridge and tennis. Fortunately he confesses to Jack that he is "not hard up", so the elegant dinner parties and the pretty ladies have not entirely left his life.

Again Jack quotes him, "The Shah--and those of us who publicly supported him to the end--got it terribly wrong; and the verdict of history, the judgement of posterity, will condemn us for the folly of our ways." But the condemnation of folly does not always await posterity. Many Iranians will be sparing a thought in the weeks to come for the Shah's last ambassador to the Court of St. James. They'll be reading him with emotion.

CSO: 4600/322

EXILES' CRITICISMS CONTINUE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 p 7

[Text] Opposition groups have continued to comment on the meeting between Rajavi and Tareq Aziz. Shahpour Bakhtiar's National Movement of the Iranian Resistance said that among its objections to the statement made by the two men was that it did not refer to the Algiers agreement between Iran and Iraq, by which NAMIR stood, and that Rajavi was neither competent nor legitimate a person to deal with the matter of the war. He had no legitimate status so anything he decided could not be regarded as valid.

NAMIR also condemned Khomeini for the policies which had led up to the war, in spite of the fact that NAMIR had condemned the attack on Iran.

The Front for Liberation of Iran (FLI) led by Ali Amini, called the meeting between Rajavi and Aziz a political blunder which could be exploited by Khomeini.

The FLI believes that the timing of the meeting and the glare of publicity which both sides decided to give it, as well as contradictory statements by Aziz and Rajavi as to the nature of cooperation between Iraqis and Mojahedin, were unnecessary acts of political exhibitionism.

Already several opposition groups, have vehemently denied having received any assistance from the Iraqis and have said that they condemned the Iraqi invasion of Iran. They have also said that the war with Iraq was a patriotic war for Iranians, and that it gave the Khomeini regime a chance to exploit people's patriotic feelings to lengthen its own hold on power.

In its criticism of the meeting FLI said that while Khomeini nominated an Iraqi mullah, Muhammad Baqir, as his candidate for Iraq's presidency, Aziz replied to Khomeini by proposing Rajavi for the same post in Iran.

So Rajavi allowed himself to be lowered to the status of an Iraqi vassal and fifth columnist. Just as Baqir had the same status vis-a-vis Khomeini, FLI says.

The FLI statement also refers to Bani-Sadr's position in the affair. Bani-Sadr was commander in chief of the Iranian army when the war broke out and had often accused the Iraqis of being war-mongers and aggressors. Now what

had he to say about the war? Could he say that Iraq was an enemy as long as Bani-Sadr was in power, and that it became a friend all of a sudden when Bani-Sadr was ousted?

The FLI attacked the meeting because it gave Khomeini's propaganda machinery a good chance to introduce Mojahedin members as enemy agents--an allegation which Rajavi's own statements is now proved. [as published]

FLI said that Iraq was after all the enemy who had destroyed Iranian cities, refineries and homes. If Khomeini was hated it does not necessarily mean Saddam was loved. Moreover, it was the Khomeini regime's policy to brand all its domestic enemies as Mojahedin. Now the regime would not hesitate to try to convince the people of Iran that all the opposition groups supported the Iraqi invasion.

CSO: 4600/322

IRAN

GUARDS PLAN NAVAL WING TO BE HEADQUARTERED IN SHIRAZ

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 p 3

[Text] Commander of the revolutionary guards Mohsen Rezai told Kayhan last week that his force would set up a naval force in the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman to cooperate with the Iranian Navy.

He said the navy would help the revolutionary guards in their efforts to set up a "revolutionary naval presence" in the area to counter American efforts to dominate the Muslim countries.

"We must set up our own separate naval force in the revolutionary armed forces so that the Americans may not dare to bring their rapid deployment force over 60,000 kilometres to claim that they are the guardians of the region's Islamic states," he said.

Rezai said Shiraz would serve as the administrative headquarters of the guards' naval unit.

Rezai also launched an attack on PLO chief Yasser Arafat and other Arab leaders. "On the recent activities of Arafat, King Hussein of Jordan and Saudi authorities I must say that these are all managed by America so as to kill several birds with one stone. These include stabilising Saddam, legitimising a Zionist state in Palestine and strengthening the position of reactionary regimes in the region," he said.

Rezai said that America's main aim in the Middle East was to destroy the Islamic republic. "All these activities are directed to that end," he said.

CSO: 4600/322

BRIEFS

MINORITY COMMUNITIES CELEBRATE--TEHRAN (IRNA)--The 10-Day Dawn ceremonies were held on Thursday in the Zoroastrian Association Building which were attended by large number of members belonged to the minority communities of Iran Assyrian community's Majlis Deputy Dr Bit Ushana addressing the participants explained the objectives of the Islamic Revolution. The ceremonies were organized by the Headquarters of the Coordination among the Minority Community in Iran [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Feb 83 p 2]

ARMENIAN CLERGY GREETES IMAM--TEHRAN (IRNA)--Armenian clergy from Julfa, Isfahan and South Iran Thursday cabled leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran Imam Khomeini and congratulated him on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Meanwhile, on the same occasion Armenians in the city of Tabriz, provincial capital of East Azarbaijan province, held special prayers ceremonies in the city's church. They also attended the tombs of martyrs and paid tribute to them. The ceremonies were attended by the Armenian church officials and province's governor general. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Feb 83 p 2]

ARMENIANS PART OF REPUBLIC--TEHRAN (IRNA)--The Armenian Archbishop, Artar Manokian in a message congratulated the nation on the fourth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Part of his message is as follows: The Iranian Armenians as an inseparable part of the Islamic Republic of Iran, have stood alongside the Moslem nation from the beginning of the revolution. He then continued that according to the country's consultative law, his religion was officially known, and so the existence of the Armenian community in the Islamic Republic of Iran was guaranteed. Manokian then added that the victory of the Islamic Revolution on Feb. 1979 was a source of hope for the oppressed nation of the world for their release from the super-powers' oppression. He concluded by calling on Armenians to defend the rights for their old aims. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 13 Feb 83 p 2]

CSO: 4600/337

PORTUGUESE ENTRY VISAS SUSPENDED--On 19 February Portugal suspended its consular agreement with Iran signed in 1977, abolishing the need for entry visas for citizens of the two countries and it is possible that a denunciation of the agreement will follow. According to Manuel Guimaraes, chief of the consular section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this measure is aimed at "controlling the entry of Iranians so as to select those who can minimally afford the costs of their stay." Guimaraes added that the situation is being closely watched in order to decide whether the agreement will finally be denounced, "a possibility that is included in the text." The reason for the above measure is the arrival of numerous Iranian citizens in our country without a visa from the time other countries closed their borders to them. There are 150 Iranians at this time in Lisbon asking for asylum, many of whom are in a (very) precarious financial situation. [Excerpt] [Lisbon JOURNAL in Portuguese 25 Feb-3 Mar 83 p 18]

RAJAVI MEETING ARRANGED--Well-placed sources in Paris said it was a senior Palestinian official who arranged the meeting between Mojahedin-e-Khalq chief Masoud Rajavi and Iraqi deputy premier, now foreign minister Tareq Aziz in Paris recently. The name of the first Palestinian envoy in Tehran, Hani al-Hassan, a good friend of Rajavi, has been mentioned in this connection. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 p 10]

CRITICISM OF USSR CONTINUED--Though Tehran radio has had little harsh to say about Moscow this week stories of alleged Soviet involvement with Iraq in the war against Iraq have continued to circulate. [as published] One has it that Iran holds four Soviet pilots shot down while flying for the Iraqi air force. One other story doing the rounds among exiles is that a number of Exocet missiles captured by advancing Iranian forces inside Iraq have fallen into the hands of the Soviets, who were asked to advise on them and then moved them to the Soviet Union. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 p 10]

AIR FORCE DEFECTORS--The LONDON TIMES this week reported interviews with two defecting Iranian air force pilots whom it said confirmed that the majority of the air force's best fighter pilots had been executed, jailed or dismissed. They said the remainder detested Khomeini's government and lacked the motivation to risk their lives daily in order to maintain its power. One man said that every time a pilot was absent from communal prayers his name was carefully noted by clerics acting as spies inside the bases. All pilots were searched when they boarded an aircraft for any evidence that might indicate a defection. Flight plans were supplied only at the last minute or when the aircraft were already in the air. The bulk of Iran's fighters are not based within easy reach of the war fronts, but deep inside the country, requiring refuelling in the air; one of the pilots told the TIMES reporter that this was because the government wanted to use the air force in putting down any internal rising. The other pilot said that during the relief of Abadan last year he had witnessed the execution of some 400 Iraqi prisoners of war at dawn, an hour after their capture. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 106, 27 Jan 83 p 10]

TRADE RELATIONS WITH INDIA HIGHLIGHTED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 26 Jan 83 p 2

[Text] Factors of geography have placed both India and Nepal in a peculiar position which has contributed significantly to the development of mutual trade and economic relations. The long stretch of border marked by a network of roads has naturally facilitated movement of goods between the two countries and therefore trade exchange between India and Nepal is much larger in volume and variety as compared to other countries. In the totality of Nepal's foreign trade, India still remains the largest trading partner though her share has increasingly declined in the last few years because of Nepal's efforts to diversify her trade. While India's share in Nepal's total export during the first half of 1980-81 and 1981-82 has gone up to 51.2% and 57.8% respectively from 45.1% during the corresponding period of 1979-80, her share in Nepal's import declined to 47.3% in the first half of 1980-81 from 57.3% during the corresponding period of 1979-80. It rose marginally to 51.7% during the first six months of 1981-82. In the first half of 1981-82, Nepal's exports to India were of the order of Rs. 430.2 million (NR) as compared to other countries' share of Rs. 313.5 million (NR). Nepal's imports from India for the same period were of the value of Rs. 1214.1 million (NR) as compared to other countries' share of Rs. 1132.3 million (NR).

The major exports of Nepal to India are maize, rice, medicinal herbs, ghee, dried ginger, timber, raw jute and jute products, while Nepal's imports from India cover a much wider range of items. The major ones are cotton textiles, machinery and transport equipments, particularly motor parts, drugs and chemicals, petroleum products, mineral goods and lubricants, coal, tin plates, writing paper, iron pipes and fittings, etc.

Indo-Nepal trade relation is governed by the Treaties of Trade and Transit of 1978. The forerunners of the Treaty were the Treaty of Trade and Commerce of 1950, replaced by the Treaty of Trade and Transit of 1960 and again renewed by the Trade and Transit Treaty of 1971. In order to help Nepal promote its industrial development, under the Indo-Nepal Trade Treaty of 1978, as many as 64 items of Nepalese industrial products have been identified--on nonreciprocal basis--which India agreed to accord preferential treatment for entry into India. These items are exempted from basic customs duty and competitive regulations, normally applicable to them. The protocol

the relevant provision in the Treaty provides that the Government of India will provide access to the Indian market free of basic customs duty and quantitative restrictions, for all manufactured articles containing not less than 80 per cent of Nepalese materials or Nepalese and Indian materials. Nepal's trade with India is done entirely in Rupee instead of in convertible currencies as is the normal practice. This helps Nepal save valuable foreign exchange needed for her industrial development.

Again under the Trade Treaty of 1978, the Government of India has committed to provide Nepal certain essential items on an annual quota basis needed for her economic development. These include, cement, raw cotton, coal, aluminium and steel ingots, pig iron, billets, etc. Since these items are of vital interest to Nepal, she finds it more convenient and cheaper to buy them from her next-door neighbour than to buy from a distant country which, in addition to cost factor, also involves payment in foreign exchange. Despite short supply in home market, India has agreed to provide these in the interest of extending fullest cooperation in Nepal's development.

In order to facilitate transit through Indian territory of Nepalese goods imported from third countries, the Transit Treaty of 1978 identified thirteen mutually agreed routes for transit traffic. The facilities included movement of bulk cargo by road and rail. Provision has been made for keeping Nepal's transit cargo at Calcutta and Haldia ports free of charge for some days. For the storage of Nepal's transit cargo, covered and open accommodation have been made available at the Calcutta port.

Economic Co-operation

Since 1947, the Indian Co-operation Mission set up in Nepal, the Government of India has made all-out efforts to assist Nepal in its initial stage of development. The most glaring manifestation of this assistance is the construction of the Tribhuvan Airport in Kathmandu in early fifties. In 1955 the construction of the Tribhuvan Rajpath was taken up which opened up and greatly enhanced the road link with India. Since then, India's assistance to Nepal covered a wide range of fields including transport and communication, irrigation and power, public health, education, geological survey and mineral exploration. India's engineering and consultancy services have been extended to Nepal in the field of hydro-electric power, construction of cement plants, construction and management of hotels, etc. India's economic assistance to Nepal till 1981 was of the order of Rs. 1000 million (IC). Some of the major projects and schemes financed were Tribhuvan Rajpath, Kosi Area Roads, Sonauli-Pokhara Road, Kathmandu-Tripoli Road, etc. at Kathmandu, Bhairawa, Biratnagar, Janakpur, Duleen, Simra, the General Post Office and Foreign Post Office Building in Kathmandu, the line between Kathmandu and Raxaul. In eastern Nepal, the irrigation scheme of Chatra canal was undertaken to irrigate 2.12 lakh hectares of land in addition to some other minor irrigation schemes. If the list of projects is extended to various buildings of Tribhuvan University, the Government of Nepal, etc., have been built with India's assistance. The National Archive building in Kathmandu is another monument of India's assistance. India has every year number of scholarships for Nepalese

that in Saptari district of eastern Nepal is being set up with India's co-operation. In the pipeline for sometime now, the project is expected to get a push forward as a result of the discussions. Other decisions taken were setting up of an industrial estate at Butwal on the pattern of earlier India-assisted estates at Nepalgunj, Patan and Dharan. The delegation's visit to India and discussions opened up new areas of co-operation between the two countries. It was identified that India could help Nepal in developing industrial sub-sectors in building materials, machine tools, sugar, paper, textile machinery, mining machinery, a variety of cranes, electrical machinery and equipments and industrial equipments. The request of Nepalese Government in industrial man-power training programme and entrepreneurship development programme were also given serious consideration for further examination. In order to achieve these various objectives and to identify further areas of co-operation between the two countries, it was agreed to form a Joint Industrial Committee of high-level officials of Nepal and India.

In her continued interest to help Nepal's industrial development, at the recent Solidarity Meeting held in Nepal India made an on-the-spot offer of \$1 million to help in undertaking feasibility studies in several priority areas identified by Nepal.

Indo-Nepal relation in the fields of trade, commerce and industrial collaboration is a manifestation of the traditional bonds of friendship between the two countries arising out of their common cultural heritage. As time passes, more vistas of co-operation will be unfolded and it is hoped that whatever the magnitude of problems, these will be solved with sincere goodwill and spirit of friendship as between two never-failing friends.

SEVERAL ASPECTS OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIED

Small farmers encouraged

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 24 Jan 62 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] It is a matter of some satisfaction that about 77 thousand small farmers have been able to benefit from the small farmers development project implemented in 16 districts of the Kingdom. Small farmers, according to available data, constitute the largest section of farmers in the country; they are also the most productive. The recent fall in the production of foodgrains in the country, due to bad weather conditions, has made it imperative that small farmers are given enough inducements and facilities to increase production. According to the Agricultural Development Bank (ADB), there are at present 34 projects catering to small farmers. The programme covers 77 village panchayats and under it 1,255 groups have been set up with the direct involvement of over 12,800 families. There is a proposal to extend the project to cover about half a million people of whom 10 percent are to be women. If the financial involvement in the implementation of the project, about 29 million rupees have been invested in the programme so far. The project under the Five Year Plan is the disbursement of 140 million rupees by the Agricultural Development Bank. In this regard, the performance of the Bank has so far not lived up to expectations. The Bank, for instance, remains to have disbursed as yet 31 million rupees and the proposal is to invest only 10 million rupees in the current financial year which is the first year of the plan. This means that, if the investment target of 140 million rupees is to be achieved, the Bank will need to disburse 89 million rupees in the last two years of the plan. A sustained effort will thus have to be made by the bank to achieve the investment targets in small farmer development projects.

The ADB has been set up fifteen years ago and during that time has been working for the development of agriculture and to help farmers increase their output. The ADB is not only the country's highest agricultural credit agency but also, for many years, the largest bank in the country. It actually has, then, a position of great importance in the country. The Bank's performance has been fairly creditable with an investment of over 100 million rupees in the last 15 years. Much of this investment has been in the form of loans to small farmers.

has been able to benefit from ADB credits and how much the increase in production has been. The oft repeated complaints that the process of obtaining loans from the Bank is difficult may be true to some extent. It should, however, also be borne in mind that the Bank cannot always afford to write off loans and hence do need security. However, it is up to the Bank to ensure that the loans disbursed for a particular purpose are not misused by the borrower. As the premier agricultural credit institution in the country, the ADB should also attempt to improve the life of farmers by helping them to increase production, on the one hand, and, on the other, by initiating them to such useful financial habits like saving. In this regard, it is notable that the small farmers development project has encouraged farmers to develop the saving habit with the resultant savings of over 100 thousand rupees. The scheme needs to be extended all over the country irrespective of whether or not the small farmers development project is operative in a particular district or not. The need for help in agriculture, both in terms of inputs and credit, cannot be denied. Neither can the role of the ADB which will continue to be of crucial importance for farmers and specially so for those in the small category.

Hill Irrigation Promoted

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 25 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by Pritvi Prasad] [Linal]

Text] **Agriculture, besides** being an overwhelmingly dominant sector of the economy, determines the way of life of the people in Nepal. The agricultural performance each year determines the success and the failure of the economy at the macro level, and individuals at the micro level, for the year. But agricultural performance itself is not determined only endogenously but is also determined exogenously by monsoon or, to be more precise, timely rainfall. Hence, it is paradoxical that the economy of Nepal and the way of life of the Nepalese people, after more than 25 years of efforts, still depends entirely upon the whim of monsoon, to which we have no control whatsoever. The current food crisis in the country clearly explains the point.

Vulnerable

Hill agriculture in Nepal depends entirely on the amount of rainfall during the proper season. As such the agricultural activities in the hills are concentrated roughly during the months from early May to late October. It is not only that the winter crops are rare in the hills but the summer and autumn crops also are vulnerable, because of the lack of continual source of water.

Though more than 56% (1981 census) of the population lives on the hills, our agricultural policy has always been biased towards terai. Even the efforts to increase food production in the hills has been completely slowed down, mainly because of the entirely wrong interpretation of the concept of topographical

specialization of agriculture in the country.

The specialization on mountains and hills of livestock and horticulture respectively does not mean that they should completely forego the production of foodgrains. Moreover, such interpretation has no meaning unless we develop a very good and efficient transportation and distribution system throughout country.

Precarious

The hill agriculture now is in a precarious situation. The high concentration of population per hectare of cultivated land (10.3 in the hills and 11.6 in the mountains compared to 4.3 in the terai) coupled with the continuous decline in the average yield per hectare of land from 1.87 MT in 1967-68 to 1.70 MT in

1977, 78, that is an average rate of decrease of 0.93% per annum on the one hand, and a rapid depletion of forest, supplying fuel and fodder on the other, left people in the hills with the only option of migrating to the terai. Hence, it is but clear that we need a complete U-turn in our agricultural policy. In other words a massive intervention is needed immediately in the hill agriculture in order to reduce the declining trend in productivity. One such intervention may be to use and exploit the topography of the hills itself, to design a rain filled reservoir for gravity irrigation, or irrigation plus mini-hydel electricity generation, during winter and possibly upto early summer.

The recently completed Kulekhani hydel project is a novelty in many respect. It is a hydel electricity project containing a reservoir built on the principle of collecting water during rainy season

for generating electricity in winter. As such the project cannot generate electricity throughout the year, rather it has to be closed down during late summer for collecting more water again to fill up its reservoir. No doubt the benefit of the project is immense, but still we have failed to integrate the project with an irrigation system. As a result, after generating electricity, the water flows out as wastage.

It would have been a major and stable source of irrigation for the winter crops and possibly for the early summer crops in the command area, had it been tried to link it with the irrigation system.

Food For Work

Because of the topography of the hills, the principle on which Kulekhani project is built can be equally utilized to develop hill agriculture system, particularly to help the winter crops and also to provide a stable source of

irrigation at least for the initial phase of summer crops. No doubt the cost in building such reservoirs will be immense. But it can be minimized by exploring the possibility of using as much of indigenous materials as possible. Designing earth filled reservoirs that uses less steel and cement may be one such example in minimizing cost. Encouraging people's participation or linking the project with the food for work program may be another example in the direction.

The advantage of such project is clear not only from the point of view of developing hill agriculture and thus the hill economy system, but also from the point of view of flood management in the terai. Besides, it can be used to develop fisheries etc., as well as generating electricity during winter and early summer to help rural cottage industries during those periods. □

Dr. P. K. Mishra, Director, Bihar Sahitya Akademi

Manuscript received: 10th May 1980, in English; 20th May 1980, in Hindi

Article by: Michael Winer and T. B. S. S. S. S. S.

Dear

Small-farm transportation has rarely been studied in detail, but it can be divided into two broad categories, on-farm and off-farm.

On-farm transportation is needed to move implements and inputs to the land and harvested produce to the dwelling. Household requirements include fetching water and firewood. Frequently over-

looked, these on-farm needs can be both burdensome and time-consuming, particularly if traditional methods are used. The predominant mode is human portering, loads being carried on the head, shoulder or back according to custom and type of cargo.

On-farm transportation is required to move purchased agricultural inputs to the dwelling or store and

marketed produce to the point of sale.

Choice of vehicles

All of the on-farm and the initial element of most off-farm (i.e., between farm or dwelling and roadside) movements must be made on footpaths and tracks rather than roads. In many developing countries this situation is unlikely to change. The nature of these "routes" severely restricts

the type of vehicle that can be used. Given variation in income, geography and farming systems, a "universal vehicle" appropriate to all small-farm needs is not possible. Rather, what is needed is a graduated choice of vehicles whose performances match need and whose costs are in sensible relation to income.

Some basic vehicles are primitive, being traditional devices that have remained unchanged for many years. This is particularly true of many bullock and donkey carts. Most are too heavy because they contain old car or truck axles and wheels rather than purpose-designed assemblies and their wooden bodies are too robust. Many are badly balanced, so that a significant portion of the load bears down on the necks of the animals. The simple yoke harness, often used with bullock carts, transmits only a small part of the animal's potential pulling power. Almost all such devices could be improved by using contemporary technical knowledge and could increase the efficiency and usefulness of transport facilities without introducing new systems which require traditional farming methods to be changed.

The bicycle, popular in many parts of the world, is also well suited to footpaths and tracks and is much faster than walking. Bicycles are used to carry quite large loads perched on the crossbar or over the front or rear wheel. If a very heavy load is to be moved, the bicycle may of course be pushed rather than ridden. Nevertheless, until recently, this "simple"

mode to transportation has been largely ignored by those involved in development planning, and very little systematic effort has been devoted to improving it for farm transportation.

The weight problem

To overcome the weight problem from using scrap motor-vehicle parts, manufacturers in India produce a pneumatic-tired wheel for animal-drawn vehicles that runs on ball bearing and is fitted to a specially fabricated steel axle. The cost of a cart with a steel axle and animal-drawn vehicle tires is approximately twice that of the traditional vehicles, but it can carry more than double the load and faster. However, until a few years ago, their penetration of the market was very limited, but, spurred by the high price of imported fuel, both state and commercial banks are now financing the purchase of animal-drawn carts, especially in sugar and cotton-growing areas, and recent growth has been spectacular. The provision of finance to allow purchase by small farmers appears to have been the crucial step.

The movement of goods along foot-paths and tracks is an area of particular interest as these are likely to remain the small farmer's primary routes. Such routes do not allow speed to be increased significantly, but distribution of food and access to seed and fertilizer can be improved by increasing possible payloads or reducing the effort required to move them. Traditional methods of human portering are arduous and time-consuming.

A wide range exists

A wide range of basic vehicles for the movement of goods along paths and tracks exists. These must ultimately, however, form the base of a broader transportation system capable of efficient distribution on a regional or national scale. At a regional level, goods must be distributed between centres or transferred to central collection points; this involves moving large loads. If such a system is to respond to market needs and fluctuations in output, it must be flexible.

In some circumstances animal-drawn vehicles offer this flexibility by using a power source with a multiplicity of agricultural applications.

Animal-cart design needs to be completely reappraised, and devices that use the energy of the animals efficiently need to be developed. This would result in a cart that could carry larger loads with less effort, in many cases using only one bullock instead of two. It is likely, therefore, that the cost of transportation would be decreased and its speed increased.

Simple motorized vehicles capable of both agricultural and transportation function would obviously offer a desirable flexibility and could extend the options available for regional level operations, but they might be expensive, difficult to use and maintain or operationally unsatisfactory.

Sound reasons

There are sound commercial, economic and social reasons for promoting

the use of basic vehicles, and there is evidence that more and more countries are considering the possibilities of introducing or improving such means of transportation as a simple way of combatting the problems created by the relentless rise in the price of oil. National distribution of goods will continue to rely on existing networks — roads, railways

and navigable waterways. However, the efficiency of such systems, road systems in particular, can be significantly increased by utilizing a variety of basic vehicles at a local and regional level to reduce the complexity, length and duration of motor vehicle operations. This is particularly true in areas where motor vehicles are currently required to travel

into relatively remote areas in order to collect or deliver small consignments. The transportation needs of the small farmer are substantial and extremely diverse.

To improve the present situation will require fundamental changes in the policies toward small-farm transportation levels of assistance.

NEPAL'S HIGHWAY TO A NEWER FUTURE OF DEVELOPMENT

Small Business Issues

NEPAL'S HIGHWAY TO A NEWER FUTURE OF DEVELOPMENT

Editorial

First of all, the Government of Nepal, King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah, has the honor to announce the establishment of the socio-economic development of the Eastern Development Region are as far-reaching as that of any other wide range in scope. The directives reflect the Government's policy to go ahead in the reality of the development and growth of the people of this region of the Kingdom and show His Majesty's firm intention to take the necessary steps in the path of socio-economic progress in the Eastern Development Region. The directives, for instance, call for the establishment of the necessary steps and measures to be formulated in the Eastern Development Region, which will ensure the resources of the Eastern Development Region.

The Government of Nepal has established a committee under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister to study the various developmental projects in the Eastern Development Region and to ensure the successful implementation of the projects.

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encompassing five districts of the development region. Eastern Nepal is in fact the habitat for the country's two most important cash crops, mainly tea and jute. Further development of this industry will not only bring about more intensive income-generating crops to the farmers of the region, but also help to greatly improve the Kingdom's trade with overseas countries in these items. With foresight, additional cash crops have also been envisaged with His Majesty's Government being directed by His Majesty the King to encourage, through suitable incentive schemes, the cultivation of cardamom, another valuable cash crop of the region. All in all, His Majesty the King has very clearly given the region's development process a very memorable and powerful boost and has greatly encouraged the region's various people by the very important and fruitful nearly month-long Royal tour of the Eastern Development Region. Finally, it has once again cemented the traditional bonds between the King and the people and has effectively demonstrated that this nexus is a fundamental and sustaining characteristic of the democratic partyless Panchayat polity.

New Investment Resources

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 25 Jan 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

The recent news item concerning the investment pattern of the Employees Provident Fund and the need for opening up new avenues of investment for the Fund should be taken rather seriously. While it is true that the Fund is still capable of paying the necessary interest on deposits of employees, the higher returns for the Fund investment would also mean a higher rate of returns on the deposits of employees. The deposits of the employees now total over one billion rupees which by the country's standard can only be termed as huge capital which can be utilised in a variety of ways. According to present regulations, however, the Fund is able to invest in His Majesty's Government bonds and in fixed deposits in commercial banks. The Fund also loans out finances to various institutions on the guarantee of His Majesty's Government. These three main areas of the Fund investment can only be termed narrow, specially in view of the present conditions in the Kingdom under which there now exists many avenues of guaranteed investment. The construction industry has been pinpointed by the Employees Provident Fund authorities as a possible area in which sound investment by the

Fund can be made. The shortage of housing facilities in Kathmandu Valley has escalated the cost of living. Thus housing apartments could be another area in which the investment by the Fund should not only result in profits but also help bring down the unwarranted rise in house rents. This could also have a favourable impact on real estate prices in the Valley which again have escalated beyond any logic. The Fund, of course, should be guided by the interests of its depositors in choosing the area of investment; the Fund, after all, which it operates belong to the employees of His Majesty's Government and other organisations. As such, they deserve to receive as much in terms of returns on their deposits as possible. It is also interesting to note that the Fund has suggested that the percentage of employees' salary deducted for the Fund be increased with the employing agency putting in an equal share deserves to be closely examined and implemented if found to be feasible.

The Employees Provident Fund is one of the country's biggest financial institutions. It however comes nowhere near the commercial banks, the newest of which, the Rastriya Banijya Bank, alone boasts of deposits of almost 2.2 billion rupees. The picture at Nepal Bank, the country's oldest, can be expected to be even more impressive. The financial institutions, however, tend to play safe at all times refusing to take any risks. This results in a slow growth of the economy through ensuring a steady source of income for its financial institutions. The area for investment for the financial institutions in the country is no doubt limited. Hence, new areas should be explored where investment will not only bring in higher returns but also, at the same time, help in the country's overall development. The housing industry could be important from both points of view. Investment in industrial undertakings could be another, though slightly more risky. Financial institutions as a whole must therefore explore such sectors, however, rather than just adhering to the traditional investment pattern.

A change which is not confined to a certain group or group of individuals is social change which takes place in the whole of the community. Social change is basically social, not individual, it is universal but not uniform. Society is constantly changing, however, the speed and forms in all parts of the world community are not uniform. They differ from one society to another. Social change is influenced by time factor and with the passage of time social change takes place which in any given society may not be precisely predictable.

Treaties on transition of society from one stage to another is towards an increase in the influence of *Gesellschaft* (Society) and corresponding decrease in the influence of *Gemeinschaft* (Community). Above mentioned series of social change was followed by transition from **Mechanical Society** and **Organic Society** representing traditional, primitive and modern social systems respectively. In this transition, the following changes in the stage of social structure can be seen from one stage to another: the suppression of individualism and community, the transition from illiterate to literate, from the absence of

of the development of society mentioned social transition from one stage to another we come to the conclusion that history of society from one point of view is the history of the social order. A society is developing from its old stage as a movement from non-industrial to industrial order, as a movement from traditional to modern and rational order from rural to urban, from small scale to large scale, from personal to impersonal and finally from the simple structure of the primitive to the observed complexities of modern.

The concept of changing patterns of development from traditional to modernity can be conceived in the form of a transition, and a transition implies a process. The process of modernisation is a way of thinking. The duration of the transition from traditional to modernity is considerably long depending on a country's situation. A country's modernisation process is affected by the country's geographical location, political system, and

Coming to social change in rural Nepal, the above mentioned factors are playing vital role in the process of social change. Nepal is basically a rural society depending upon agriculture as the main source of feeding its 16 million dependents. Everyday the face of rural peasantry is changing.

Change in the political structure of the country in the early 80s brought about a landmark in the process of social change in rural Nepal, which was another watershed moment. The democratic innovation of 1980 brought a number of changes from social, Mark, Aims, political, (Bhagya, Dams, and economic, land reform, social reform, etc.) to bring about a change in the political structure of the country.

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purchasing power is therefore very low. As such most of Nepal's existing industries are running below 55 percent capacity. Incapable to compete domestic products with neighboring countries is another major set back. Most of the domestic industrial products are either low quality or more costly in comparison to Indian or Chinese products, and cannot draw a good market in Nepal and much less so in neighbouring countries. Uncontrolled market price has also meant that businessmen have been enjoying monopoly price of all imported goods usually luxury goods from third countries. Even the price of a toilet soap imported from India is higher than that of its actual price quoted plus taxes. So whatever investment has taken place, it is mainly in the high-profit fast-growing sector.

The present land border with India is virtually open and unguarded which makes it quite easy to smuggle goods and evade trade taxes. As such it has not been possible to protect domestic industry by measures of

restriction and protection policy taken by HMG.

The policy dilemma of the government regarding protection and restriction has been blamed for the difficult procedure for obtaining industrial licences and concessions. Lack of facilities in granting tax exemption and concession as mentioned in the Industrial Enterprises Act can also be cited. It has also not been able to provide protection to domestic industries by means of quantitative or full restriction on imports or imposing higher tariffs on imported goods throughout the country as stated by the government.

Reforms

The above mentioned constraints which determine the slower growth in industrial development in Nepal, should be reformed by effective measures relating to industrial policy of the government. It is most essential to safeguard domestic products by restricting on import or imposing higher tariffs, controlling quality of domestic products, control-

ling market price of imported goods, etc. And for winning confidence of private sector, the policy of the government should be determined and be rigid for at least a five year period. For this policy maker and planner should promulgate the policy only after foreseeing the nature of country's economy.

However, under the new industrial policy, Industrial Enterprises Act and Foreign Investment Act (1982) have been announced so as to attract private investors from within and out-side the country for rapid development of the industrial sector in Nepal. The facilities such as availability of foreign exchange, electricity, depreciation allowance etc, have been made more liberal and attractive. The provision of tax exemption and concession period have been increased too. But without creating a situation with adequate rate of return and security of capital invested in the industrial sector, the new industrial policy will not be very successful in attaining the desired goals. □

DIA CALLS FOR MOBILIZING ALL RESOURCES FOR SECURITY

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD Feb 14 President Zia-ul-Haq has called for mobilizing and mobilising all national and human resources of the nation to achieve the goal of national security and defence.

He has been speaking at the opening day of the three-day National Symposium on the Defence and Issues in Strategy for National Defence organised by the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.

He said one of the main objectives of the symposium is to discuss the strategy for the defence of the country in the light of the current world situation. He said the symposium will discuss the strategy for the defence of the country in the light of the current world situation.

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psychological and technological factors, along with military elements, in the planning and management of their defence requirements."

He expressed his confidence that this symposium will serve as an excellent forum for such idea-oriented discussions and provide a conceptual and an analytical framework for the strategists for national defence.

Islamic ideology

The three day seminar was inaugurated by Defence Minister Asimud Din Khan in the morning. For Pakistan, he said, the goal is the preservation of its Islamic ideology and the establishment of institutions for enjoining the good and forbidding the bad in accordance with their Islamic beliefs, values and traditions. "A nation deriving inspiration and guidance from the great Quran and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) will be able to achieve its goal of national security and defence."

COMMENTARY ON ZIA'S TALKS WITH ULEMA

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 14

[Article by Anis Waris]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 14: Around noon today, President Zia ul Haq, attended by army sherwani followed by Federal Information Minister Raja Zafarul Haq and Law Minister Sharifuddin Pirzada, walked briskly into the cafeteria of the Federal Council building, and crossed over into the former Senate and Chamber. Doors closed and the President started his meeting with about 50 ulema who are members of the Majlis-e-Sunnat. The meeting with the ulema had been scheduled for 11.30 a.m. but the time when the actual session started.

President Zia ul Haq, who is seated with the ulema, said that he was very happy to meet them. He hoped that besides the religious and moral aspects of the Islamic faith, they would also be able to contribute to the development of the country.

When the ulema began to speak, the President listened attentively. He said that he was very interested in their views and would try to implement them wherever possible. He also said that he was very happy to see that the ulema were not only concerned with religious matters but also with the social and economic development of the country.

The President then turned to the ulema and said that he was very happy to see that they were not only concerned with religious matters but also with the social and economic development of the country. He also said that he was very happy to see that the ulema were not only concerned with religious matters but also with the social and economic development of the country.

four provinces to discuss regional and area problems.

Members rose together and did their voices. Mian Naeemur Rahman, Dr Amina Ashraf, Nasir Marbut, Begum Manvi Faran, Mahmooda Sultana and Jama leader Shirin Khan wanted to raise privilege motions over Zia ul Haq's Feb 12 statement that the Senate should be dissolved. The President, however, asked them to wait until after the session. He said that he would consider their motions after the session.

The President then turned to the ulema and said that he was very happy to see that they were not only concerned with religious matters but also with the social and economic development of the country. He also said that he was very happy to see that the ulema were not only concerned with religious matters but also with the social and economic development of the country.

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day, Mr. Sargent, asked of himself
what he called "the ten per cent."
members to define it. It was
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issues."

Mr. Sargent again turned to the
subject of "the ten per cent." of
He and the speaker, and the
bulletin of Israel in the "the ten per cent"
conditions and conditions of the
age and time. "Take the general
attitude to women. We should not
apply the spirit of Israel in the
times we live in." There was more
applied to the speaker.

From his own point of view,
the speaker, known as "the ten per cent"
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speaker, said "the ten per cent"

SLAUGHTER OF ...

PARLIAMENT ...

Article 10 (1973-1974)

Text:

LAHORE 13-10 President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq said here on Monday in a speech at a ceremony that the government would not allow a decision whether elections are to be held on party or non-party basis. He said that the government would not allow the party which has been the party of the people to be ready registered would name itself through their representatives in accordance with the constitution and the law.

The President said that the government would not allow a decision whether elections are to be held on party or non-party basis.

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Article by Indarjit Dasgupta

GENERAL Zia was not the only controversial figure to visit Washington last month. Also in town as an guest and whenever possible to heckle the Punjabi generalissimo was another Punjabi politician. Gurdram Hussain Hussain is the exiled general secretary of executed prime minister Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) now banned by Zia.

Medical College in Lahore in 1963 and ran his own clinic for several years before entering politics. In 1970 he was elected to the National Assembly as a PPP candidate from his home district in Faisalabad and was made adviser to the prime minister. He was re-elected in 1973 when Shaukat Bhutto named him Pakistan's railway minister and PPP general secretary.

trial. And was freed in 1980, upon the demands of the hijackers, on the PIA airplane and returned to Syria where he spent almost a year. Later through the intervention of the United Nations High Commission on refugees he was given political asylum in Sweden. He now carries a Swedish passport.

Hussein is quick-witted with a
wicked and intense. He speaks
fluent English with a Karai Bagh
accent.

3. I never wanted to leave. Even when I was released I gave up saying that I did not want to leave. (1/1/80)

There are many people who are interested in the work of the National Endowment for the Arts. They are interested in the work of the National Endowment for the Arts because they believe that the arts are important to the life of the nation. They believe that the arts are a part of the heritage of the nation and that they should be supported by the government. They believe that the arts are a way of life and that they should be encouraged by the government. They believe that the arts are a way of life and that they should be encouraged by the government.

1) It has been seen no return

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1037.

Q But how did you know of your strength within the country?

... We keep a tight discipline. But everyone's scared of me because I'm the one who's taking care of the family and I'm behind this and there's no accountability. Undercurrents are going on. The hatred in the hearts of the people is tremendous and is going to erupt. We will challenge this authority and people

4. Then why does he not hold general elections? He is ruling with the rod and he has gagged the people and the press. There's no free press there. He's the most hated man in Pakistan.

[illegible]

(c) How do the different parts of the brain work?

10. The only person who can rule over the people is the people.

1. *Journal of Management Education* 24(1): 10-12

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1019-1024.

ging brought Mr. [redacted]
power was wrong. [redacted]
[redacted]

A. Zia is trying to purge it. Thousands of workers belonging to PMA were shunted out because they were suspected of being party members. The same with steel mill workers, railways. Any body who is anti-Zia is tagged a Zardikar, anti-country, or terrorist or criminal although Zia is the biggest criminal. He is the terrorist, he has taken the nation hostage.

A Lebanese newspaper reported last night that about 20,000 soldiers were in Iraq. Thousands have been killed and 11 have been prosecuted since Mr. Hwaida's arrest. Assad Benadir is still in jail.

A: Well, if you ask Zia he will say they are criminals. At one time I was (once) a criminal. I was imprisoned twice as a prisoner. Even the government and the so-called witnesses were never given time to do justice.

A case alleged against me took place in 1973 but the case was registered again in 1979. They accused me of shooting in a public meeting and killing people. I was a minister at that time. I don't think that a minister goes to a public meeting and kills people. If a minister goes to a public meeting, he should

Q. Don't you fear that your speaking so freely will jeopardize your family's welfare?

As the Zulu people have long been the backbone of the tree world and

It is important to understand that the RBCs are not necessarily the same as the white blood cells and are not the same as the red blood cells. The RBCs are the cells that carry oxygen to the tissues and are the most abundant cells in the blood. The white blood cells are the cells that fight infection and are the least abundant cells in the blood. The red blood cells are the cells that carry carbon dioxide from the tissues back to the lungs.

A second line of explanation, America, which professes to be a great democracy at home is supporting dictators abroad. For instance, martial law in Poland, they are a threat up and concerned about in Pakistan they support the brutal and corrupt military and police. The American

Iran will think 'The Americans supported the Shah of Iran against the wall of the Iranians. They are making another Shah out of Zia. The people of America should realize that the taxes are being paid to Iran.'

A. Let me put it this way: The purpose of the amendment is to make sure that the State of New York is not the only state in the country that has a law that says that a person who is a member of a hate group is not allowed to be a member of a hate group.

1. The United States is a strong ally of America. And
we are sure that no matter what the situation should be supported.

A. I think that the situation is the historical location of
Pakistan. The situation is the same as the situation in
Pakistan.

Q. Is the situation the same as the situation in Pakistan?

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MINISTER SAYS NO DANGER OF SOVIET INVASION

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 pp 1, 10

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 9: Pakistan does not face immediate danger of the Soviet military invasion and with the passage of time the clouds of dangers lurking on the frontiers of the country are clearing, said Defence Minister Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur while talking to PPI in Civil Services Academy this evening.

He said Pakistan was keen to improve relations with the Soviet Union, as also the other neighbouring countries, and expressed his optimism that the objective would be achieved.

Replying to a query, Mr Talpur said Pakistan was prepared to accept all kinds of assistance, including military weapons, from the Soviet Union, if offered. He said the Soviet Union was already giving assistance to Pakistan in various fields and referred to the Rs.2,500 crore Pakistan Steel, Karachi, and a tractor factory being set up at Sheikhupura Road, Lahore, as examples of the Soviet collaboration.

The Defence Minister said Pakistan, in future, would meet its maximum defence requirement from the domestic resources and would not depend on the imported military equipment. "Necessary

measures are being taken in this respect," he said when asked how this aim would be achieved.

Mr Talpur replied in the negative when asked if Pakistan and India were negotiating reduction of armed forces by mutual consent. He said: "Defence is the fundamental right of every country and Pakistan would not give to or get suggestions from any other country in this respect."

When asked what impact would the no-war offer have on the efforts being made to resolve the Kashmir issue, Mir Ali Ahmed Talpur said Pakistan was trying to normalise relations with India and added when relations were good the genuine issues could be solved through negotiations and by peaceful means.

Answering another question, the Defence Minister said the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, over three million in number, did not pose any threat to this country. He said they were oppressed people and Pakistan was trying to enable them return to their country with honour and safety.

He said any solution of the Afghanistan problem would have the consent of the Mujahideen.—PPI

CSC: 4600/345

NDP LEADER MANHANDLED BY POLICE

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 12

[Text] Malik Mohammad Usman Kansi, ex-Adviser to a former Governor of Baluchistan, was yesterday man-handled by some policemen outside the KMC Sports Complex where Jam Saqi and others are being tried by a Special Military Court.

Malik Usman Kansi, a leader of defunct Baluchistan NDP, had arrived here to watch the proceedings during Mr. Abdul Wali Khan's deposition before the court.

Malik Kansi and some others could not get seats in the courtroom. They stood outside instead. A plain-clothes policeman asked them to leave the premises. They obeyed the orders and came out of the Sports Complex to stand on the footpath.

Another group of policemen asked them to go to the other side of the footpath. After some exchanges one of the policemen allegedly started beating him. The policeman was joined by the other plain-clothes policemen. As a result, Malik Kansi was knocked down, and fainted.

The policemen tied both his hands from behind and took him to the nearby police station where he was held till evening when he was taken to a hospital.

Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, President of the defunct Pakistan National Party, condemning the incident said, the manhandling of Mr Kansi further proved that the "honour of a respectable citizen was not safe at the hands of policemen."

He demanded severe punishment for guilty policemen.

CSO: 4600/350

MUSLIM LEAGUE FACTION TO ISSUE NEW MANIFESTO

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 p 2

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 9: The executive committee of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum group) at its meeting here on Tuesday formed a subcommittee with Syed Ghazanfar Ali Shah, Sajada Nashin Dargha-i-Aalia Hazrat Mian Mir Sahib, as its convener to frame a new manifesto of the party. Rai Manseeb Ali Pichar, President of QML was in the chair.

Other members of the committee are: Agba Hussain Shah (NWFP); Ch. Sirajuddin, advocate, (Punjab); Mr. Sher Ali Talpur (Sindh); and Sardar Menarban Khan Bugti (Baluchistan).

Based on the two-nation theory, the manifesto will reflect the aspiration of all the sections of people, including labourers agriculturists, journalists, students, lawyers and Government servants. The new manifesto will be announced on March 23.

The meeting also considered the internal and external situation of

the country. It appreciated the addition of F-16 aircraft and described it as a good step for the security of the country. The meeting condemned the statements of certain political leaders who had opposed the purchase of American plane.

The committee found the foreign policy of the country satisfactory. However, it asserted that no compromise or bargaining on the Kashmir issue would be acceptable to the nation. On internal situation, it was of the view that uncertainty was the basic problem which could be solved if President Zia-ul-Haq announced his political programme without any further delay.

The committee called for elections under the 1973 Constitution.

It was of the view that the issue of provincial autonomy had been decided unanimously in the 1973 Constitution and it would be very dangerous to touch this issue again. PPI

CSO: 4600/345

OFFICIAL SAYS AFGHANISTAN TALKS TO INCLUDE REFUGEES

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Feb. 15--Foreign Secretary Niaz A. Naik said today that Islamabad and Kabul had agreed, in principle, that Afghan refugees be included in the consultations going on through the United Nations intermediary. But he added, the agreement was just in a preliminary stage and the modalities were yet to be discussed.

According to UN sources, at the discussions during the latest rounds of Mr. Diego Cardovez's shuttle diplomacy between Tehran, Islamabad and Kabul, "careful consideration was also given to the modalities and timing of consultative mechanisms that will be set in motion to consult refugees in order to ascertain the voluntary character of their return."

A UN Press release said today that in the light of the progress made during these consultations it was agreed to hold another round of discussions through the personal representative of the secretary general, on the same procedural bases as that held in June 1982.

The next round, it said, would be held at Palais de Nations in mid April, Pakistan will be represented at the talks in Geneva by Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, according to Foreign Office sources.

CSO: 4600/349

PDP LEADER'S DETENTION ANNIVERSARY OBSERVED

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 12

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 14: The defunct Pakistan Democratic Party, along with its MRD partners, today held a meeting to observe the second anniversary of the detention of its chief, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, demanding his immediate release.

Speaking on the occasion, Mr. Arshad Chaudhary, acting chief of the PDP, said Nawabzada Nasrullah symbolised democratic struggle, a cause for which he had suffered greatly. He said the MRD stood for restoration of undiluted democracy under the 1973 Constitution and would not accept polls under any other political set-up. Similarly, it would not agree to the scheme regarding registration of political parties — instead it would continue to defy the existing ban on political activities.

He regretted that the police had subjected women demonstrators to lathicharge. This was all the more deplorable because the Government action was being taken in the name of Islam.

He said the MRD would not accept the decisions and proceedings of the nominated Majlis-i-Shoora. It would rather call for accountability after it came to power.

Mr. Rashid Qureshi, Secretary, Information, PDP, maintained that Martial Law was totally un-Islamic in spirit. Similarly Islam did not permit any Government to detain anybody before he had committed any crime.

He demanded the immediate release of Nawabzada Nasrullah. Air Marshal (retd.) Asghar Khan, Miss

Benazir Bhutto, Maulana Fazlur Rahman, Rao Abdur Rashid and other political workers and students.

Others who spoke on the occasion were Maulana Abbas Abidi (JUI), Mr. Islam Khan (Mahaz-i-Azadi), Mr. Muneer Malik (PPP) and Manzoor Gilani (Tehrik-i-Istiqbal).

Wali's warning

Our Staff Reporter adds: Khan Abdul Wali Khan, a leader of the defunct National Democratic Party (NDP), has said people would adopt 'extra-legal' means to achieve their rights if the Government denied them the 'legal means.'

Speaking as chief guest at a meeting to protest against the continued detention of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan for the last two years, Mr. Wali Khan said if power was not transferred through the established democratic process, people might adopt other means to seek its transfer.

He told his audience that 'our relations with Iran, Afghanistan and India are not good and the conditions within the country are worst.' He congratulated Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan for his prolonged struggle for democracy.

Mr. Mairaj Mohammad Khan, a leader of the MRD, in his speech criticised the re-submission of challan in the Qadeer Abid murder case in which the name of the principal accused was dropped. He said it showed that justice was denied to the victims.

WALI OUSTED FROM SIND

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 pp 1, 12

[Text]

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, a leader of the defunct National Democratic Party (NDP), was externed yesterday from the Sind province — two days before the expiry of the four-day special permission granted to him to visit Karachi in connection with the Jam Saqi case.

He appeared before the Special Military Court yesterday morning as scheduled and recorded evidence as Jam Saqi's defence witness.

At 3.40 p.m. as he came out of the court, he was taken under police escort to airport and put on the Islamabad bound plane.

The externment order was served on him under the Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance. The official explanation was that Mr Wali Khan was specifically allowed to come to Karachi and stay till Feb. 17 for appearance before the Special Military Court. His evidence in the court having been completed, he was served with the externment order.

Mr Wali Khan was to speak at a reception of his party workers last evening and to address the members of the Karachi Bar Association today.

His externment was criticised at the MRD meeting held last evening at the residence of Mr Asif Zuberi. Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan presided over the meeting. Those present included Khwaja Khairuddin, Mr Musheer Ahmad Pesh Imam, Haji Mohammad Adeel and Maulana Abdul Razaq Aziz.

Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, President of the defunct NDP, in a separate

statement said this was not the first time that the party leaders had been subjected to the "one-sided and discriminatory treatment by the Government".

Mr Wali Khan, he said, was already externed from Baluchistan, Punjab and Sind. Begum Naseem Wali Khan was also not permitted to perform 'Umra'. He / Mr Mazari himself had remained externed from the NWFP for over two years and his entry into Baluchistan and Punjab had been banned. The last two National Executive meetings of the NDP at Lahore and Quetta were not allowed.

Mr Mazari said that "double standards adopted for those parties or individuals who openly or secretly supported the Government and for those who stood for democracy were, indeed, reprehensible."

Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, President of the defunct Pakistan National Party (PNP), said that the externment of Mr Wali Khan was "totally unjustified," more so as he had been permitted specially to visit Karachi during the currency of the 90-day ban.

Such restrictions on the movements of political leaders would "alienate people and give rise to parochial trends," he pointed out.

Mr Abdul Hafeez Lakho and Mr Farooq Naek, President and Secretary of the Karachi Bar Association, respectively, in their statements criticised the action against Mr Wali Khan and said it was aimed at preventing him from addressing the Bar, as scheduled, today.

WALI SAYS PEOPLE MUST BE TAKEN INTO CONFIDENCE

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 12

[Text]

Khan Abdul Wali Khan, a leader of the defunct National Democratic Party (NDP), demanded on Monday that the Government take people into confidence on the perceptions of its foreign policy vis-a-vis the Non-Aligned Movement.

For, he cautioned, Pakistan because of its highly sensitive geopolitical location was today confronted with a "grim situation", while within the country the body politic was in a 'state of flux'.

He said people 'have a right to know' how the non-alignment principles were being applied by the Government in respect of its relations with the USSR, India, Iran and Afghanistan.

Besides, what are the issues at stake which are being tackled in pursuance of the principles of non-alignment and how is Pakistan trying to develop its relations with its neighbours? he asked.

Mr Wali Khan, who was talking to newsmen at the Defence Society residence of his party chief, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, explained that the NDP's stand on non-aligned policy for Pakistan had, since its inception, been crystal clear. It is that Pakistan should make friends, not create enemies and, besides, it should stay clear of any involvement with the Superpowers.

Reverting to internal matters, he said that if "surface politics" was kept blocked, "underground politics" would rear its head. He added that if the politicians continued to be restrained from reaching people, the people would find their own way.

He, however, made it clear that the MRD believed in a "peaceful, constitutional and democratic struggle", and the NDP as its com-

ponent party sincerely desired the revival of democratic process in a 'peaceful and orderly way'.

Replying to a question, Mr. Wali Khan said the Government had 'no mandate' to make any changes of political, administrative or legal nature.

As for the abeyance of the 1973 Constitution, he said he failed to understand what actually the term 'abeyance' meant. He would like to ask whether Martial Law or the 1973 Constitution prevailed in the event of a conflict between the two. Obviously, that which was superseded was 'dead and buried.' So, how could it be said that the 1973 Constitution was held in abeyance?

Replying to a correspondent who referred to Clause VI of the 1973 Constitution, Mr Wali Khan said the NDP's politics had been a "principled one, not based on revenge". He reminded that his party had remained at the receiving end in every regime, be it of the Muslim League, Martial Law or the People's Party. Still, he said, the NDP or its predecessor, the NAP, pursued its policy in the interest of the country and people, 'without any tinge of vendetta'.

The NDP leader said that today other parties were shedding "crocodile tears" for democracy, but asked whether they or the NDP sided against Ayub Khan's autocracy and with Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah's democracy.

Mr Wali Khan was questioned on the differences keeping the NDP and Mr Ghous Baksh Bizenjo's Pakistan National Party (PNP) apart. The NDP President, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, intervened to say if Mr Bizenjo thought he had parted

on principles, let him say what the differences were.

NDP vs PNP

Mr Mazari said that to his mind there was no difference in the policy and programme of the two parties, not even in the respective party constitutions. "When they (Mr Bizenjo and others) come to us, they say we want to work together and we tell them you are most welcome and there it ends", he added.

Mr Mazari, however, pointed out that it was not becoming of a politician of Mr Bizenjo's stature to belittle the strength and popularity of the NDP. "When time comes, it will be seen which party wields influence in Baluchistan and the NWFP," he said.

Mr Wali Khan told a questioner that his party would not agree to any political formula, framework or structure whereby people are 'alienated'.

Quoting the Quranic injunction, he said Islam enjoined upon its faithful to return the nation's trust to the nation.

"Democracy we demand is as a matter of our basic right, and not as a sort of gift from somebody", he declared.

He said the Islamic system could not be enforced piecemeal, but in toto. And in order that Nizam-i-Islam be effective, the rulers should practise Islam in letter and in spirit themselves so that people should emulate their example.

Mr Wali Khan alleged that Islam was being exploited for personal or

political ends and that was why whatever measures had been or were being taken had "hardly any popular response".

He again pointed to the dangers inherent in one party being allowed to "hobnob" with the Afghan refugees and thus creating "bad blood" between the locals and the refugees.

Students problems

Mr Wali Khan criticised the omission of the name of Mr Saifuddin in the re-investigation challan of Qadeer Abid murder case, saying that this shows the "political manoeuvrability" of the Government.

He said it was deplorable that while students belonging to a particular political party were allowed to stage demonstrations for 40 days in Karachi, creating traffic jams and dislocating civic life, in Rawalpindi the polytechnic students had been flogged and sentenced for just one incident.

In the same way, the women demonstrating for their rights in Lahore were teargassed and latrincharged — an incident which had "caused revulsion to all sane and law-abiding citizens", he said.

Meanwhile, Mr Wali Khan has been invited by the Karachi Bar Association to address the members tomorrow (Wednesday) at 12.30 p.m.

In a statement, Mr Farooq Naek, General Secretary of the KBA, said the Association's Managing Committee had passed a resolution approving the invitation extended to Khan Abdul Wali Khan to visit and address the Bar.

WALI KHAN SAYS NDP TO MAKE EFFORTS TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 p 6

[Text]

PESHAWAR, Feb 9: Khan Abdul Wali Khan, a leader of the defunct National Democratic Party, has said his party will play an effective role in the struggle for restoration of democracy and will stick to its principles after democratic order is restored in Pakistan.

Addressing members of the provincial working committee of the defunct NDP and some observers, who attended on special invitation, in Peshawar yesterday, Khan Abdul Wali Khan said that only the defunct NDP had stuck to its principles after promulgation of Martial Law in the country because it had consistently kept away from joining the Government despite repeated invitations from the highest authority.

Turning to some major issues, he said that besides the question of restoration of democratic order in the country, Pakistan was today faced with two serious external problems, namely the problem of Afghan refugees and armed clashes in Afghanistan. As regards refugees, he said, "We have accepted them on purely humanitarian grounds and for Islamic affinity." He added that "the refugees have yet another claim based on our blood relations and therefore want themselves to be treated well."

Khan Abdul Wali Khan was, however, not happy over the manner in which these refugees are being 'exploited' by a certain defunct party which has been trying to give the impression that none but only they are their well-wishers.

In his scathing attack on this defunct party he charged it with ac-

cumulating arms, and bringing supporters from across the border to create an ugly situation here. He warned that the policy would be dangerous for domestic peace and tranquillity.

About his demand for restoration of democracy in the country, Khan Abdul Wali Khan said no one should feel "unsafe" provided power was transferred peacefully to politicians. "If, it is not done speedily, people may get impatient in which case, God forbid, the early days of Iranian revolution may be repeated here too."

The working committee of the defunct NDP passed a number of resolutions demanding release of all political detenus, restoration of democracy through elections under the 1973 Constitution and lifting of restrictions on inter-provincial movement of political leaders.

Through a resolution the committee attributed the rise in prices of commodities of daily use to "inefficiency and apathy of the officials." It demanded withdrawal of rise in the prices of oil products.

Through another resolution it demanded immediate reopening of educational institutions in the province, and condemned action taken against some students.

It also deplored the tendency to appoint retired military personnel in civil departments which, it said, amounted to depriving civil servants of their due rights.

The meeting was also attended by Begum Nasim Wali Khan and Han Ghulam Ahmad Bittour, Secretary General of the defunct NDP.

MRD LEADERS' ARREST CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 12

[Text] The MRD leaders in separate statements yesterday protested against the arrest in Lahore and Multan of Mr. Parvez Saleh, Ch. Mohammad Ashraf, Syed Maqsood Shah, Mr. Riaz Lone, Mr. Safdar Hashmi and Maulana Badruddin and demanded their immediate release.

The Secretary-General of the MRD, Khwaja Khairuddin, said that the "way of democracy cannot be blocked by prohibitory restrictive actions."

He criticised the summary sentences against the students in Rawalpindi and other parts of the Punjab, and the "excesses" committed on the women demonstrators. "All such acts run counter to the Islamic values," he said.

The convener of the MRD and Chairman of the defunct Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, Mr. Mairaj Mohammad Khan, in his statement said that the arrest of political leaders and issue of warrants of arrest against another ten persons, just because they had arranged and attended a meeting of the provincial MRD, was an "oppressive act."

The statement is also signed by Mr. Iqbal Haider and Mr. Alamdar Haider of the defunct Qaumi Mahaz.

PPI adds: Mr. Nafees Siddiqui, Secretary-General of the National Union of Civil Liberties, has also criticised the arrest of MRD leaders of Lahore and Multan, and demanded their release.

CSO: 4600/349

FOUR MRD LEADERS ARRESTED IN LAHORE

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 14: The police today raided the houses of four leaders of the Punjab MRD in the early hours and arrested them under MLR 33 (participation in political activities).

The leaders who had attended a meeting of the provincial executive of the MRD yesterday are: Mr Pervaiz Saieh of the Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, chairman of the Punjab MRD for the current month; Mr Maqsood Shah of the Muslim League; Chaudhary Mohammad Ashraf of the PDP who is also vice-chairman of the Punjab Bar Council; and Mr Riaz Lone of the Mazdoor Kisan Party. They were remanded in police custody till Feb 24 and sent to Camp Jail.

The MRD meeting which adopted a number of resolutions also decided to observe 'Political Prisoners Day' by the end of the current month.

It also criticised the excesses on women processionists.

Meanwhile, Mr Rashid Qureshi of the PDP, who is also a candidate for the presidentship of Lahore High Court Bar, has threatened to go on hunger-strike from tomorrow if those arrested today were not released within 24 hours.

PPI adds: Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, convener of MRD for the current month, Advocate Iqbal Haider, Secretary-General of Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, and Mr Alamdar Haider, Secretary, Information, Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, in a joint statement have criticised the arrest at Lahore of MRD leaders.

According to another report, two MRD leaders of tehsil Multan, Mr Safdar Hashmi (Finance Secretary) and Maulana Badruddin (member of executive body) have been sent to jail on judicial remand.

They were arrested two days earlier in a case registered against them under Martial Law Regulation.

CSO: 4600/348

ADVISORY COUNCIL CONSIDERS PRESS FREEDOM

BK031148 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 2 Mar 83

[Text] The federal minister for information and broadcasting, Raja Mohammad Zafarul Haq told the house [federal advisory] that 80 percent of the wage board award has been implemented. Speaking on the question of admissibility of an adjournment motion by (Obaidur Rahman), the information minister said that a special cell has been constituted in the Information Ministry to settle the problems of newspaper industry employees. The officials of the provincial Labor Ministry are being invested with powers to inspect newspaper units in their respective areas. After the statement by the information minister, the mover did not press his motion.

The information minister also told the house that President Mohammad Ziaul Haq wants to see the press work with full freedom provided it continues to sincerely fulfill its moral obligations toward the nation and the community.

Speaking on the identical adjournment motions moved by (Malik Mohammad Ramzan), (Maulana Kamaluddin Kamal Salarpuri) and (Khurshid Ahmed Kanju) on the stoppage of government advertisements to Jang publications for its irresponsible reporting on Karachi incidents, he said the newspaper failed to adopt a proper attitude despite repeated requests from the provincial and the federal governments and published sensational reports about Karachi incidents with photographs which could create unrest among people. He said the action against the newspaper is extremely mild. After this statement, most of the movers did not press their motions while the chairman ruled the motion on this issue as out of order.

CSO: 4656/116

CHANGING DEFENSE PROBLEMS OF NATION DETAILED

London ISLAMIC DEFENCE REVIEW in English Vol 7, No 4, 82 pp 30-36

[Article by G. Jacobs]

[Text]

Two events have significantly effected the current strategic outlook as viewed in Pakistan. First, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late December 1979, and the subsequent continued warfare and occupation of that country by the Soviet armed forces. Second, the June 1980 agreement between the Indian government of Indra Gandhi and the Soviet Union for a \$1.63 billion arms deal negotiated at a repayment rate of 2.5 percent interest annually over a period of 17 years. It was considered an arms build-up which the Zia government could not ignore, especially when added to Indra Gandhi government's attitude of tacit acceptance of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan.

Pakistan considers itself placed in a strategic cross-fire between the Soviet occupational forces in Afghanistan on its Western borders and a heavily armed and not too friendly India on its Eastern borders. Moreover, the Gandhi government's \$1.63 billion arms deal with the Soviet Union, the purchase of 85 Jaguar aircraft from the U.K. and 40 of the latest Mirage 2000 aircraft from France have helped only to accentuate Pakistan's feelings of insecurity and vulnerability. Faced with these potential threats, and acutely conscious the obsolete/obsolescent weapons in its defence forces, Pakistan felt obliged to acquire modern weapons systems to shore up its defence capability, particularly on its Western borders.

As a consequence of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Pakistan has also become extremely important to the U.S. Southwest Asia strategy and

roads, airfield upgrading and communications — related improvements to enable Islamabad to better administer and develop the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan provinces.

The situation as viewed in Islamabad has changed little in the last two years, and is viewed thusly: (a) continued, if slightly lessened, fears of escalation of Soviet reprisals against Afghan Mujahedin (Islamic freedom fighters) residing within the immediate border areas inside Pakistan; (b) outright Soviet seizure of some portions of the Afghan border regions, and India, pushed by Indra Gandhi's visions about "war clouds" hovering over the sub-continent, deciding to settle the Jammu and Kashmir dispute unilaterally with its overwhelming military advantage resulting from the \$1.63 arms deal with the Soviet Union and also the purchase of highly sophisticated combat aircraft and missiles from the U.K. and France; (c) worst case, that India would initiate a full-scale war following a localized Soviet seizure of certain border regions, creating a two-front war which Pakistan could not possibly survive. The various Soviet attacks which did take place during September 1980² (and later also) did little to make the Islamabad government feel secure with regard to the possibilities of situation (a) or (b) not happening.

In addition, externally-instigated urban terrorism and sabotage to destabilize Pakistan is another threat causing concern to the Pakistan authorities. Prominent among the terrorist groups is "Al-Zulfiqar", formed in Afghanistan by Murteza Bhutto and his brother, the fugitive sons of the late Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who was hanged on a political murder charge in April, 1979. Al-Zulfiqar is dedicated to the overthrow of Zia government and is alleged to have been responsible for hijacking a Pakistan International Airlines' aircraft to Afghanistan, car-bomb explosions at Karachi and Lahore airports, political assassinations, derailment and bombing of railway trains and sabotage of government buildings and installations etc. To check these increasing terrorist activities, the Zia government is reported to have organised a special anti-terrorist force and the various police agencies are reported to have arrested 650 suspected terrorists by mid October, 1982.

Yet another worry for the Pakistan government is some leftist elements from Baluchistan province who fled to Soviet occupied Afghanistan and are reported to be receiving training in guerilla warfare by the Soviet experts. Having trained and armed these dissident elements, the Soviets could return them to Baluchistan to engage in guerilla activities aimed at creating an independent pro-Soviet state in Baluchistan, and thus materializing the historic Russian dream of warm waters outlets to the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan's geography creates certain rather fundamental problems from the outset. A relatively narrow country with a long border both with India and Afghanistan, there is a strategic lack of depth upon which defensive measures could be prepared. Over 70 percent of the territory is within the strike range of current Indian aircraft types; and all areas will be within striking range of Indian Jaguar aircrafts. While Pakistan's military personnel are considered experienced and well-led overall, there are gaps in leadership experience at the top, created by the absence from military duties of a significant number of Pakistan military officers now serving in the Zia-led civilian government. Within the military officer corps, the officer esprit-de-corps has declined over the last few years.

The government of Indra Gandhi has been extremely critical of the U.S. decision to sell some modern weapons to Pakistan and protesting that these will heavily tilt the military balance in favour of Pakistan and inevitably lead to an arms race on the sub-continent. The Indian protests are, however, seen as wholly unjustified by the Reagan administration. In this connection, Mr. James Buckley, the U.S. Under Secretary of State in an interview on the "MacNeil/Lehrer Report" (July 10, 1982) said:

"India, incidentally, has an infinitely superior force over the Pakistanis, and it is a modern force. In the last four or five years, India has purchased or has on the way over 5,500 million dollars worth of equipment. In that same period, Pakistan had about 1,000 million dollars. The Pakistan Air Force is equipped primarily by Korean Vintage planes. They are not a match for the MIGs that the Soviet Union have exported into Afghanistan, MIGs which, in fact, fly over Pakistani airspace and strike Pakistani bases. This is a real threat."

"Now, introducing an F-16, which, incidentally, is the only up-to-date option available out of our inventory, is not going to increase a threat, in any meaningful sense, to India. India has bought Jaguars from England, has modern MIGS that can out-perform many of our aircraft. We are rushing into a real void in order to meet a real threat."

Pakistan Army

The Pakistan Army has approximately 408,000 personnel assigned to seven corps. The military service is voluntary and commanders are still allowed to pick unit replacements within their commands. The corps units include: 1st corps (at Mangla) 2nd corps (at Multan), 4th corps (at Lahore), 5th corps (at Karachi), 10th corps (at Rawalpindi) 11th corps (at Peshawar) and the newer 12th corps at Quetta. The Army General Headquarters is located at Rawalpindi, which also commands one "special territorial" command: Northern Area (at Gilgit, Kashmir). This latter command has special responsibilities with regard to the Karakoram mountain range within Jammu and Kashmir, including the rugged Mintaka Pass region. Below the corps level, there are 16 independent infantry and two armoured divisions, four infantry Brigade Groups, five Armoured Brigade Groups, and a Special Services Groups at Cherat directly under the control of the General Headquarters. Additionally, there are a variety of independently assigned Cavalry and Lancer Regiments, Engineer/Road Construction battalions, and six Reconnaissance Support Infantry Battalions.³ Pakistan has also between 75-100 thousand paramilitary and militia trained personnel in a variety of organisations: the Pakistan Rangers comprising four battalions; the Frontier Corps, and the Northwest Frontier constabulary force. The formerly independent troops of Azad Kashmir (AK), Janbaz Force and the Mujahed Force have now been integrated within the regular Pakistan Army divisions. The AK's probably number 29,000,⁴ the Janbaz 15,000, and the Mujahed 50-60 thousand. All can be considered as light infantry, with primarily territorial defence role (rear area security, installations' defence etc.).

While Pakistani defence leaders show a clear understanding concerning the threat of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, there appears a clear difference

between what the Pakistanis think about this threat and what Washington feels. Without question, it appears that Islamabad views India as the first and foremost threat; with the greatest concern for what might be termed a "Soviet sponsored and supported" attack by India. Indian defence analysts have been consistently critical of U.S. arms sales to Pakistan, because they say Pakistan's main divisional forces are still aligned facing the Pakistani borders in the east (towards India). They allege that Pakistan deploys only two of its divisions on the Afghanistan border. This is, however, not true. According to the latest information Pakistan has stationed five divisions from the Khyber Pass south to the Iranian border. These include the 7th, 9th, 16th, 33rd & 205 divisions i.e. five out of 16 Pakistani infantry divisions.

On the other hand, Pakistan is quick to point out that India maintains a large part of its armed forces along the Pakistan border, including:

- a) 28 out of 35 fighter — bomber and interceptor squadrons; including the deep interdiction Jaguar and MIG-23/Flogger strike aircraft.
- b) 75 percent of the Indian Army is stationed in the border provinces adjacent to Pakistan.
- c) India is converting at least three of its former Mountain Divisions into front-line mechanized or infantry divisions.
- d) India's defence purchasing and license manufacturing budget amounts to about \$2.5 billion, involving outright purchase of Mirage 2000, MIG-23, MIG-25, AN-32, Jaguar aircraft and 700 T-72 Soviet tanks, the most advanced in the Soviet inventory, and the license production of Jaguar and MIG-23 aircraft.

The concern of Pakistan can be appreciated by a look at Appendix "A" at the end of this article, which highlights the growing Indian Army's tank inventory and increased mechanization of its existing infantry. While the number of Pakistani and Indian anti-tank guided missiles is on about even terms, the growing number of Indian tanks is of particular concern (2,000 versus 1,475). India also has significant quantities of armoured personnel

carriers (APCs). Pakistan's 147 M-47 medium tanks have yet to be upgraded;⁶ while India has disposed of its remaining AMX-13 light tanks and most centurian medium tanks.⁷

Defence analysts assessment concerning the greater needs of Pakistan, i.e. equipment designed to meet Soviet incursions from Afghanistan or threats from the east is a matter of controversy. It seems to depend where the viewer is — Washington, Islamabad or New Delhi. The requirement to upgrade Pakistan's defences against Soviet attacks could also be a part of its defences against a large-scale attack from India, but not in all cases. Major requirements include radars and C³ equipment to upgrade the overall air defence capability; greater number of SAMs and AAA weapons; greater medium lift helicopters and sophisticated gunship helicopters. Pakistan lacks heavy armoured wheeled vehicles, ideal for the Baluchistan province to deal with the insurgency problems in that area. Likewise, greater number of wheeled and tracked combat vehicles are needed; which serve the mobility requirements of shifting combat units from one front to the other. While Pakistan has units stationed in the far northern mountain regions, they are essentially lightly armed foot infantry units. There is a strong need for major investment in roads and construction of fixed fortifications throughout the border regions of the north, both along the Afghanistan and disputed areas in Kashmir. The cost alone of such projects would be of the order on \$1 billion. It is easily seen why this construction programme has not been undertaken in the past.

The initial increment of funds for equipment delivery in 1982 includes about \$175 million in equipment for the Pakistan Army. This includes 10 Bell AH-1S gunship helicopters, 40 M-110 A2 8-inch self-propelled howitzers, 64 M-109A2 155 mm SPH, 75 M-198 155-mm towed guns, and 100 M48-A5 medium tanks, plus 35 M-188A1 armoured recovery vehicles to replace the remaining elderly M-32 and M-74 ARVs. Considering that a significant number of Pakistan's Chinese built type T-59 medium tanks are non-operational at any given time (perhaps 25 percent), infusion of a further one hundred tanks will only serve to make up the existing shortages in unit TOEs that already have American tanks in use. The Army still has a serious requirement for a light armoured vehicle of the Cadillac Gage Company Commando V-300 category (with 90mm Cockeril

gun and 25-mm gun turret versions), as well as significant quantities (450-600) of APCs to mechanize the existing infantry divisions.

The Air Force

The Fiza'ya (Pakistan Air Force) is probably the best professional combat force in the country. The quality of its air crews, extensive training and individual motivation, has provided the airforce the opportunity to uniquely survive the last two wars with India, despite serious aircraft deficiencies. Large number of Pakistani pilots are currently 'seconded' to several Middle Eastern States, particularly in the Gulf region. They have, therefore, flown examples of nearly all the world's major aircraft types: Jaguar, MIG-21 and 23, Hunter etc. This has provided them with invaluable flight time, experience and familiarity with all major aircraft types within the Indian Air Force (IAF).

Pakistan currently relies upon 150 Chinese-built F-6 (MIG-19) fighters, 45 Mirage VP, 24 Mirage III E-P, 12 Mirage IIIR, and 36 F-86/Sabre VI (Plus another 20 in storage with wing cracks). The other significant aircraft include 12 C-130B/Es for air transport missions, 45 Chinese-built FT-5 trainers, 50 plus T-37, 20 T-33A, 12 FT-6 and 25 MF1-17 (Mushak) basic trainers. In addition, a light bomber squadron with 11 B-57B and two RB-57s is still flying at Masroor Air Force Base. The first batch of 6 F-16 Falcon air superiority fighters is now providing familiarization and maintenance experience for the Pakistanis. The contract for the 40 F-16s provided for the initial delivery of six aircraft early in 1982; with the balance of 34 aircraft to be delivered over the next year and a half; beginning no later than 27 months after signing of the letter of Acceptance (LOA). The delivery of the F-16s will increase by approximately 50 percent the number of modern combat fighters within the PAF inventory. The Israeli Air Force has proven that the F-16 is an excellent air superiority fighter, though Pakistan will not have the E-2C (Hawkeye) AWACS and other ground-based electronics that Israel has, and which immensely enhance the effectiveness of the F-16s.

Despite addition of the F-16s, which are also desired for their deep interdiction capability (which fits well the offensive-oriented philosophy of the

PAF). inventory comparisons of the IAF and PAF suggest the following (see Appendix 'B'):

- The IAF has, and will retain a significant advantage over the PAF.

- In modern aircraft, the IAF will attain a 4 to 1 advantage (even after the F-16 delivery) from 1984 on. Current Indian plans for the MIG-23 and Mirage 2000 will further enhance the IAF advantages and will modernize a substantial part of the IAF by mid-1983. By that time, over half of the PAF Mirage aircraft will have become 16 year old, necessitating rebuilding which is scheduled to begin in 1983.

In training, PAF's Mirage and F-6 pilots are trained in both air defence and strike roles due to the paucity of aircraft and the lack of a dedicated close-air-support (CAS) aircraft in the inventory. The PAF relies on limited number of MATRA-550 "Magic" and 530 AAMs, plus the remainder of 450 AIM-9B "sidewinder" purchased in 1974. The F-6s are modified to fire this missile. The PAF Aeronautical Complex at Kamra is expected to begin modification of existing AIM-9B missiles to "E" standard in the near future. It is understood that 350 AIM-9J missiles were contracted by the PAF last year with the U.S. The advantage that Mirage III has in air defence is that it is the only all-weather interceptor in the PAF at this time.

Serious air defence gaps presently exist within the airspace over Pakistan; partly being remedied now by new deliveries of TPS-43 radars. Little practical experience exists with regard to air defence from Afghanistan; a situation which has drawn sufficient attention and Pakistan has recently stationed an F-6 squadron at Quetta Air Base. And until the PAF receives laser designating systems (PAVE PENNY, etc), the air strike potential will remain severely degraded. The air component also lacks sophisticated air-to-ground missiles (ROCKEYE, MAVERICK, etc), and will not be able to take fullest advantage of the F-16's strike capabilities until such systems become available in the inventory.

The Navy

The small naval forces of Pakistan consist 2 "Agosta" and 4 "Daphne" class submarines, some

"SX404" class midget subs, the ex-British "County" class light cruiser BABER (with AM-39 Exocet SSM), four ex-U.S. "Gearing/FRAM" destroyers, and three elderly conventional destroyers. An additional destroyer was placed in use as a training and accommodation ship in late 1982.¹ There is a variety other types: including 4 Chinese-built "Hegu" class PTG, 4 "Hainan" and 13 "Shanghai" PGMs, 1 "Town" class, and 4 "Huchuan" class torpedo hydrofoil craft (currently in reserve). Twenty other small patrol craft, 6 coastal mine-sweepers, a replenishment oiler, and two survey ships round out the remaining non-auxiliaries. The U.S. has offered to transfer an additional 25,450-ton oiler, and is expected to transfer two to four additional FRAM-type destroyers during the coming year to replace the remaining conventional destroyers transferred in the 1950s.

The Navy's primary mission is to protect the coastline and to provide escort for merchant ships during wartime. The most effective units in the fleet are the submarines, both for conventional attack role and anti-submarine warfare (ASW). The ex-U.S. destroyers lack a respectable air defence capability, but have a good ASW platform for the Arabian Sea region. There are also three Requet ATLANTIC aircraft operated in a dual role as strike and ASW aircraft. Six Sea King helicopters have been outfitted exclusively for anti-shipping role, carrying two AM-39 EXOCET missiles (ASW gear being removed). It is the PN operational philosophy that the helicopters, coastal submarines, and light craft would deal with the hostile missile boat threat out to 200nm, outside of the ASW threat. The "Agosta" medium-range subs are more suited for distant operations, including commerce interdiction. Considering that the Indian naval forces are significantly larger, Pakistan's navy will have to rely on quality, innovative tactics, and land-based air cover to effectively operate in any future conflict with India. Pakistan has many naval officers and NCO rank personnel seconded to Saudi Arabia, Oman and the Gulf states. In times of emergency, these personnel could be withdrawn to make up the short falls in the Pakistan navy. Pakistan's severely limited budget has kept the country from procuring modern, missile-equipped PGG-type craft in the past; however, there remains a strong requirement for crafts of this type; particularly well-suited in view of the geographical operating areas of the Arabian

Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the growing strength of the Soviet-built missile-armed crafts in the Indian Navy. (See Appendix "C")

Conclusion

The Soviets are maintaining at least the following military formations in Afghanistan: One Guards Airborne Division, 3 Motorized Rifle Divisions, 3 MR Brigades, one (or more) new type Air Assault Brigades, and 3 Independent Helo Regiments (two attack).⁹ Even discussions with Pakistan military officers reveal a substantial Soviet force in the country;¹⁰ with most estimates ranging from 80-85 thousand troops. While the Afghan war is both a continuation of the insurrection and civil war begun with the ouster of Daoud, it is also the Soviet effort to turn a traditionally neutral Islamic country into a Soviet client state (via the invasion and continued occupation). Few would say that the Soviets have been successful; though their continued presence in Afghanistan over the long run may create some problems to the disadvantage of the West and the adjacent Islamic states.

As regards Pakistan, the very failure of the Soviet occupation forces to establish control over the country, except in a few urban centres, may force Moscow, out of sheer frustration, to resort to extreme measures in dealing with the Mujahedeen along Pakistan's Western borders.

The present Pakistani air and land forces are insufficiently equipped and mobile to effectively respond to such a threat. Pakistan, in fact, has been caught in a dramatically changed strategic situation. While on the one hand its traditional threat from India is rapidly escalating, due to greatly increased and continually increasing firepower and mobility of Indian armed forces, on the other hand its traditionally secure borders in the West (with Afghanistan) are seriously threatened by border incursions and territorial seizures, particularly because since 1982 the Soviet forces in Afghanistan have become significantly more mobile, more experienced and potentially more dangerous for not having been able to defeat the Mujahedeen. While Pakistan may have felt threatened by India after the two wars it fought with that country, nothing

compares with the changing political — military situation now developing along Pakistan's borders — both in the East and in the West.

Notes

¹ An early breakdown of funding proposals is in New York Times, 24 March 1981.

² See Washington Post, 27 September 1980, Japan Times (Tokyo), 28 September 1980, and The Muslim (Islamabad), 27 September 1980 and 8 November 1980.

³ See G. Jacobs "Pakistan-India: Comparison of Military Power", Asian Defence Journal, No. 3/82 (March), p. 30; hereafter "Comparison".

⁴ International Institute for Strategic Studies "Military Balance 1980-81", Pakistan (London); hereafter *IIS*.

⁵ "Far Eastern Economic Review" (Hong Kong), October 16, 1981, p. 26. Other reports indicate the number is now 1,000 T-72s.

⁶ Pakistan's M-47s were to refit at the Iranian tank depot at Masjed-i-Suleyman; however the Khomeini revolution interrupted this plan. See G. Jacobs, "Comparison", p. 29.

⁷ Most of its AMX tanks went to Singapore, as did a shipment of CENTURIONS (50-55).

⁸ Destroyer *JAHANGIR* is being retained as a depot training and accommodation ship, possibly at the Qasim naval base. The future fate of the ex- "Dido" class training light cruiser (formerly named *BABUR*) is unknown at this time.

⁹ G. Jacobs, "Soviet War in Afghanistan: Three Years Later", Asian Defence Journal, December 1982 (forthcoming), particularly Chart No. 2.

¹⁰ Estimate provided was 7 MR Divisions and one Airborne Division.

Comparison of Indian and Pakistani Land Forces - 1982

	India	Pakistan
Armoured Divisions	2	2
Arm/Inf. Mech. Divisions	1	0
Inf. Divisions	22	16
Independent armoured Brigades	7	4
Independent Inf. Brigades	1	3
Inf. Mountain Divisions	7	2 Bdes
Misc. Brigade Groups (Arty, Cav. etc)	20 (plus 8 inf. Bdes in reserve)	15
Tank Inventory	2,300 (+630) (1,100 Vijayanta, 900 T-54/55, 170 T-72 + Centurion +630 T-72)	1,475 (+100) (1270, 47/48) 1,150 T-59, 55 to 66 other, +100 M-48 A5)
A.T.G.Ms	7,000 (+) SS-11 3,700 TOW with 60 launchers on order	6,000 TOW with 268 launchers, 1,000 COBRA
Appendix "A"		
Appendix "B"		

Pakistan and Indian Tactical Aircraft Inventories - current and on Order as of Late 1982¹

Pakistan Air Force	1982	On order/to be phased out
A. <i>Modern multirole</i>		
Mirage III EP/DP	24	
Mirage VPA/DP	45	
B. <i>Fighter/Ground Attack</i>		
MiG-19, F-6 (Chinese)	150	
F-86	36	obsolete, being scrapped
F-16	6	34 on order
A-15	—	42 to 60 on order
C. <i>Reconnaissance</i>		
Mirage III RP	12	
D. <i>Light Bombers</i>		
B-57	11	To be phased out on receipt of F-16s
Total	284	

Indian Air Force

A. <i>Modern Multirole</i> MIG-21 PFMA/ME	200	
B. <i>Modern Strike</i> MIG - 23 BN, UM Jaguar	60 20*	Total 85 on order 65 on order
C. <i>Fighter, Attack</i> MIG - 21 FL Gnat Agcat F-56 Hunter Su-7 HF-24 Muage200	100 80 100 48 - 60* 48 - 64* 50 40	to be phased out To be phased out To be phased out 45 on order 40 on order. Agreement also reached with France for license manufacture of another 110 aircraft in India.
D. <i>Light Bomber</i> Canberra B - 57	45	To be replaced by Jaguar
E. <i>Reconnaissance</i> MIG-25 R	8	
Total	759 (to 787)	

Notes

* Sources differ

Based on present reported orders and replacement plans. Sources include IISS "Military Balance 1982/83, Asian Defence Journal, and others.

¹ A listing of Pakistani Air Squadrons and inventory of aircraft is contained in G.Jacobs "Pakistan's Defence: The Air Force", Asian Defence Journal, no.11/1981 P 58 & 68. Thirty two Mirage VPs were last ordered in 1981.

² A - 5/FANTAN inclusion is because of its listing in the IISS 'Military Balance' for 1982/83, reporting 42 on order. Original purchase reports came from the 1981 visit of President Zia-ul-Haq to China, when it was speculated that 60 A-5 would be purchased. None have been seen in Pakistan yet.

³ First Indian assembled Jaguar made its initial flight March 31, 1982. Current plans call for a total of 45 to be assembled by HAL. Forty are coming directly assembled from the U.K., giving a total of 85 aircraft.

Appendix "C"

Naval Strength Comparison

Type	Pakistan	India
Personnel Strength	11,000 (950 officers 10,050 ratings)	46,000 (officers and ratings)
Aircraft Carrier	—	1 (light)
Submarines	6 (+6 small midget)	8 (+2 + 2)
Light Cruiser	1	1
Destroyers	6 (+2) ¹	3 (+3)
Frigates	—	25 (+5) ²
Corvettes	—	3
Fast attack craft-gun	12	—
Fast attack-craft torpedo	4	—
Fast attack-craft-missile	4	16
Patrol craft (light)	24	4 (+)
Minesweepers	6 (Coastal)	6 (Ocean), 4 (Fleet) 4 (Inshore)
Landing Ships	—	1 LST, 10 LSM

Notes

¹ *PNS Jahangir* retired in 1982 as active unit. Now employed as depot and stationery training ship. Two further ex-U.S. "Gearing" class expected to be transferred during 1983.

² *Ins Godavari* commissioned mid-1982, leaving five units under construction. Source — *Jane's Fighting Ships 1982-83*, Ed. John E. Moore (London), 1982.

COMMENTARY ANALYZES DISHARMONY IN NATION

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 p 7

[Editorial]

[Text]

EVERY social system is sustained by its ability to resolve relations of conflict in a manner that its members accept as just. Conflicts that lead to defiance of authority or violence portray disharmony in the system. Looking at the new surge of conflicts and contradictions in our society, can one say that the system is being pushed beyond the limits of equilibrium?

But systemic disequilibrium is difficult to measure, even for trained social scientists. As a journalist not even trained to seriously examine activities which could contribute to an index of social disharmony, I can only serve as a witness to some relevant headlines. In that sense, this has been a very exciting week. One must sit up and take notice.

Last week I wrote: "Some of the contradictions inherent in our existing social arrangements are coming to the surface. There is a sense of movement. Some tensions are beginning to show". And to point towards militant divisiveness in society, I had referred to sectarian clash in New Karachi, wondering whether religion is not a unifying factor. There was the focus on the agitation launched by Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba and some remarks about the seven Lowari Sharif murders and the eventful encounter between Ferozabad Police Station officials and the Anti-

Corruption staff.

On Thursday, the IJT students disrupted the day's play in the final cricket Test between Pakistan and India at the National Stadium, forcing the authorities to issue a revealing Press note and to administer a warning that "any further act of hooliganism resulting in inconvenience to the general public cannot be allowed".

However, the main event was launched on Friday when several thousand members of Shia community began their highly dramatic sit-in on M.A. Jinnah Road. The nature of this protest and its consequences call for serious attention. Already, a certain backlash is seen to be in the making. How it came to be staged and how the authorities tackled it can be probed from many different angles. Its impact is reverberating in the minds of the people.

Though it evoked memories of the massive gathering of Shia protesters in Islamabad in July 1980 on the issue of Zakat, the Karachi sit-in — or "dharna" — was an innovation in our public life. You could call it an act of militant inaction. It was also, apparently, an improvisation. For they had decided to gather in the Nishtar Park to offer Friday prayers and protest against what they believed was lack of official response to the desecration of the Holy Quran and their place of worship in New Karachi. When they found their way into the Park barred by police, they settled down on M.A. Jinnah Road and refused to go home until their demands were met.

Irrespective of the genesis and details of the New Karachi incident, the protest underlined some basic divisions that we will have to contend with in our quest for an Islamic political structure. Various other insights into people's relationship with authority were also provided by the sit-in which ended with the Government accepting the demands of the protesters.

For Shia community itself, the sit-in highlighted some vital issues. It gave birth to a new kind of religious leadership, since the intellectual elite of the community, the "zakirs" were not allowed to mediate on behalf of the community. Instead, the protest was guided by more than one hundred "pesh imams", the religious scholars who lead prayers.

So far, "zakirs", who address Majalis, have been their major spokesmen and that is how some of them had made it to Majlis-i-Shoora. It was an expression of lack of confidence in the traditional leadership by those who had staged the protest. But this point requires more inside information and a proper study of the emerging stance of the community.

To some extent, the protest also demonstrated the power and organising ability of the Imamia Students Organisation, which is acquiring a separate identity in educational institutions. It will be interesting to study the growth of ISO in the context of the role played by IJT.

The day the sit-in ended was the second anniversary of the founding of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. This brought out the difference in which political and religious issues can be exploited in our society. And the group differences that surfaced in the MRD meeting that evening presented further evidence of increasing divisions within parties and alliances. More crucial it would have been for the MRD leaders to consider why their struggle for fundamental rights and constitution and democracy has not made any headway. Is their kind of politics becoming irrelevant?

It was perhaps in response to such questions that the MRD has indicated a shift in its strategy and has now made a commitment for the solution of the socio-economic problems of the people "as well as the restoration of their fundamental rights". The main task, of course, will be to lay the guidelines for social change — something that many leaders will hesitate to consider seriously.

Meanwhile, signs of increasing disintegration of our social values are mounting. The sense of crisis is intensifying. Cricket had not been a great diversion and even the long tour of the Indian team is over, ending on a dull note. The only excitement in the Karachi Test was caused by the determined IJT demonstration. And the students have promised more action. There was another clash at the Campus on Monday.

Once again, crime situation has also become scary, with a new rise in armed robberies. Three were staged on Monday — by a gang of five armed with sten guns and revolvers. Increase in crime is certainly an indicator of society's disequilibrium. So is the nature of police detection work. And, also, the increased visibility of the law enforcing personnel.

But I find a more subtle evidence of social discord in the rate of our road accidents. It was revealed this week that traffic accidents have assumed frightening proportions. Fatal accidents per 10,000 vehicles in Pakistan were highest in the world — except in Niger, Ethiopia and Malawi. This is despite great efforts by Martial Law authorities to enforce traffic regulations. Frankly a lot appears to have been done in this area. We even have a Traffic Engineering Bureau in Karachi. The Sind Governor had extended Road Safety Year to June 1983.

Still, 50 persons died in traffic accidents in Karachi in January, compared to 39 in the same month last year. One newspaper put the fatal deaths in the City in January at 67. Do we need more transport strikes as the last resort?

PAGARA SAYS HIS LEAGUE WILL GOVERN COUNTRY

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 18

[Text]

HYDERABAD, Feb 10: The chief of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League, Pir Saheb Pagaro, has said that it was the destiny of PML to govern the country.

Talking to Pressmen at Jamote House, today, Pir Saheb said that the panacea to all our ills was in political solution of all our problems by civilian government duly elected by the people as it was unimaginable for a military Government to deliver the goods.

This civilian government, he added, would be none other than the government of the Muslim League. He said the fate of East Pakistan should serve us as an eye-opener and the same crisis would bring the country to a point of no return, and it would be simply impossible for military government to meet such crisis.

About political prisoners, the ML chief said that if there were any charges against them, they should be tried in the court of law and not detained for indefinite period. He, however, added that the present government had only detained the politicians, whereas the previous government had simply done away with the people.

Our Correspondent from Mirpurkhas adds: Pir Pagaro said today that at present "whoever is associated with politics is under detention. Politics in any form is strictly banned."

He was talking informally to newsmen at the residence of Mr Ghulam Rasool Junejo.

Pir Sahib said further that MRD included parties which were once opposed to PPP.

He said that only Muslim League could form a new government in the country and run it on Islamic lines. In this it had the support of the "Noorani group".

Pir Sahib said that wherever he went the people told him about their problems. It seemed the present Government could not solve those problems.

In reply to a question, he said that only the President could say what the Ombudsman would do.

He charged that the parties that had not got themselves registered had "illegal income."

He later met a delegation of Muslim Students Federation, led by Mr Zulfiqar Junejo. Pir Sahib advised the students to concentrate on their education.

MUSLIM LEADER OFFERS TO MEDIATE BETWEEN ADMINISTRATION, POLITICIANS

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 pp 1, 10

[Article by Nisar Osmani]

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 9: To end the present impasse between the Government and the political parties, veteran Muslim League leader Mian Mumtaz Daultana is willing to offer his good offices provided the Government accepts it.

In an exclusive interview with this correspondent at his Durand Road residence, the 66-year-old leader who once was a household word in the country's politics but has now chosen to keep himself somewhat aloof from even the drawing room politics of the defunct parties, made repeated references to the dangers the country is presently facing, both internal and external. He is of the view that effective steps should be taken to stem the deepening crisis before it is too late.

Mian Daultana was put a straight question if by virtue of his plus points — he is probably one of the few old guards of the Pakistan Movement still alive and despite his lack of active interest in politics, still enjoys personal equation with most of the senior political figures — he was willing to take any initiative to resolve the deadlock. He said categorically, without mincing words, "I am ready to investigate that possibility, in fact, I feel duty-bound to do so, as far as the politicians are concerned, I foresee no difficulty in convincing them on the urgent need for an early solution of the national crisis, but the first willingness must be from those who are in office."

Mian Sahib added: "A genuine initiative must come from those

who hold power and not from those whose cooperation is sought. As far as political parties are concerned, I require no mandate from them because of my personal equation. I would, however, feel inclined to play my small role only if I am not considered an intruder or a nuisance by those who are in office.

Asked if he was optimistic about the prospects of his efforts, he said: "I believe, it is a chance worth taking. People are certainly interested in an early resolution of the crisis."

Asked if he could visualise a via media between the stands of the Government and political parties, he said: "Investigations through negotiations alone could determine that. The 1973 Constitution has many strong points. In its original form, the way it was signed, it is a good constitution. And from the standard of a political theorist it has its intrinsic merit. Moreover, it is based on a unanimous agreement and fortunately those who were signatories to it, such as Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Khan Wali Khan, PPP and others are still on the top and there has not been much change in the leadership. It makes a real effort to bring about a sense of participation and both from academic and practical viewpoint it has strong points."

He struck a note of warning that if the Constitution was scrapped, the country could never again have a document which could enjoy the agreement of the concerned parties.

The Muslim League leader, who has been known for weighing words before he chooses to speak out, preferred to evade a direct question on what he had in mind but added that there could be an understanding that before the Constitution was restored, the process of amendment be made simpler say, by a simple majority, as against by the existing provision of two-third majority.

Commenting on the scheme regarding registration of political parties, he said in a democratic set-up people alone were competent to choose their rulers, nobody had a right to interfere in their choice, because that would amount to disenfranchising the people. He maintained that, as in the past, the parties which were of no significance in the eyes of the people, would have no impact on election results.

On the question of the proposed political setup which the President was committed to give to the nation by Aug 14, Mian Sahib said the advisable thing would be that it should be avoided but if that was necessary, every care should be taken to ensure that it would be acceptable to a very large number of parties, particularly to each one of the provinces.

Mian Daultana cautioned that people would not accept a political setup which was thrown upon them; it must have the blessings and backing of all those forces who mattered.

Mian Sahib maintained that Pakistan was so destined by history that for it democracy was not a good form of Government but the only form of Government, minus that the country could not remain intact. The nation had already reached a stage where there was no waiting time left. One should not ignore the fact that even if the electoral results carried some dangers, failure to hold them would prove to be much more dangerous.

He said that two or three years ago the situation might have been different but now polls provided the only chance to survive as a nation.

He regretted that to the mis-

fortune of the country the political parties lacked the unity and homogeneity that the challenge demanded. They appeared to have reservation about each other, forgetting that in the present context of national question it matters little as to who would win the polls, if and when held. Much more important was the fact that the destiny of each one of them depended on democracy and on their will to develop an effective, practical and genuine desire for forging unity. Everything else could follow.

He wanted the Government to note that whatever advantage there might be in ruling, the ultimate advantage was that the country must stay.

He said the ideal position both for the Government and the parties was to realise the damage and start negotiations on minimum points which could provide a meeting ground. The unfortunate aspect of the situation was that while one was under the impression that the Government would ruin itself, the latter thought that their opponents were too weak to create a problem for them.

Mian Sahib said there was hardly anybody who did not realise that, if not in near future, in the next four years or so the country would be in the midst of a storm, as we are the next scene of catacyclism and probably the only frontline country of destruction.

He was of the opinion that if things continued to move in the present direction, a stage was bound to come when the situation would get out of the hands of the political parties but "we will not be left alone. Somebody will come willy nilly and fill the vacuum."

GHAFFAR KHAN WARNS OF SOVIET THREAT

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 12

[Text]

BANNU, Feb 15: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Red Shirt leader, has accused the Soviet Union of ruining Afghanistan and said that the unfortunate country was in a state of rivalry between two Super-Powers today.

Talking to newsmen at Pezu near here today, he said, Afghanistan was, in fact, being ruled by the Soviet Union and the Red flood had, in fact, destroyed it completely and the same destruction was advancing towards us and if the nation did not get up from the dream of negligence, this flood would destroy us as well.

He said, the Soviet Union wanted to surround Pakistan to subjugate it, and added that we should rise to the occasion as delicate and serious dangers were confronting us from all sides. We should not hide our face from the bare facts, he added.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said, in his old age he was touring different areas to wake people up from their sleep and to warn them against these dangers. He asked the nation to set aside petty differences to safeguard its very existence. Pakistan, he said, was achieved after supreme sacrifices

by the people.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan further said that it was high time to assess our power and to see if we can face a blow from the Soviet Union.

He said he was deadly against Communism and Socialism, which deprived the people of their basic rights.

Replying to a question, he said, the former Premier Mr Bhutto had won the elections on the slogan of "Roti, Kapra aur Makan" but he could not provide those things to the people and the result was obvious. Today the people were again deprived of their basic democratic rights. He said, it was our struggle against the British rulers which won us the right of adult franchise but the same was snatched by the rulers after the freedom.

He said, our economic condition was deplorable as the nation was unable to repay the huge amounts of foreign debts. He said, since his meeting with the President at the present stage would be fruitless, he, therefore, excused himself from meeting him. He appealed to the Pukhtoons of the region to get united.

CSO: 4600/349

KARACHI-PESHAWAR DOUBLE HIGHWAY PLANNED

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 10: Brig. Khalid Muhammad Amin, the Director-General, Highways, yesterday said the construction of a double highway from Karachi to Peshawar is expected to be launched in 1984 at a cost of Rs 8,000 million. The project, he hoped, will be completed by 1988.

The DG, in an exclusive interview told "Dawn", the Government's share in the investment would be one-third while the rest of the amount would be generated by the private sector. He said, over 25 foreign and local firms have so far shown interest in the Highway project. The DG mentioned an American firm which he said was famous for its speedy and excellent construction work throughout the world.

To a question the DG replied the Government alone cannot construct this additional carriageway even in the next 20 years. He said, overloading tended to damage roads and, therefore, roads designed for 10 years could last barely two years.

At present the country has 42,415 kms of metalled and 65,258 kms of unmetalled roads which require huge funds for maintenance. The DG said, the total number of vehi-

cles in the country is 6,66,000 which were increasing at a very fast rate.

When asked if he was satisfied with the pace of road construction presently, the DG said this pace which is about 12 kilometres per year will take 128 years to complete Karachi-Peshawar highway.

The reasons, he said, are inadequate funds and inexperienced contractors. What we terribly need was competent management and excellent maintenance of equipment, he added. In this field, joint ventures with experienced constructors will prove very rewarding in the next five years, the DG said.

The foreign entrepreneurs will bring in only equipment and top management in the field of highways which, he said, we were lacking.

The Government, he said, also have a plan to levy a toll on vehicles using only good roads. The DG said, people do not mind paying toll for a good road. A vehicle, he said, saves money if the quality of roads it plies on is good through savings in fuel and spare-parts, tyre-wear and tear, labour and also time. This is, he said, a big saving and a truck plying from Peshawar to Karachi will save Rs. 1,190 on one trip.

ANTI-PAKISTAN BRITISH TELEVISION PROGRAM NOTED

Karachi DAWN in English 12 Feb 83 p 10

[Article by Yehia Syed]

[Text]

LONDON, Feb 11: Britain's newest TV station 'Channel-4', which completed its first 100 days last week, is planning a programme on the current political situation in Pakistan, including the status of women there, which of late, had been in the newspapers here.

The interest of "Channel-4" current affairs programme in Pakistan was whetted up by some of the reports published in 'The Times' on Monday and by few letters published last Sunday in 'The Observer' and 'The Sunday Times'.

"The Times" Islamabad stringer ran nearly a column-long report about young Pakistani women, who face flogging, jail sentence and even death sentences for sex crimes, which the stringer said has increased fears among some Pakistani women of a Muslim fundamentalist onslaught against members of their sex.

He had listed a woman, a mother of two, who was given 20 lashes in Swat when found guilty of extra-marital relations. Another young pregnant woman of Dir was quoted who was sentenced to 100 lashes with two years prison sentence. Yet another case was of a 22-year-old girl of NWFP sentenced to death for killing her new-born child to conceal being an unwanted mother.

The 'Channel-4' team, I gather, has already contacted Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khar, one Brig (Retd) Osman Khalid, Convener and Chairman 'Campaign for the Restoration of Human Rights in Pakistan', Mr M. Arif and Mr R. Brown, Labour MP. It has also been in touch with Amnesty International.

The team might also go to Nice to interview Begum Nusrat Bhutto, who is recuperating there.

CSO: 4600/347

ADVISERS, OFFICIALS DISCUSS SIXTH PLAN

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Feb 83 pp 1, 9

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 9: A high-level meeting was held here on Tuesday of Presidential Advisers and the Deputy Chairman and officials of the Planning Commission to discuss priorities, policy issues, and strategy for the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The Advisers put forth their point of view regarding their respective portfolios and suggested various measures to evolve a progressive and welfare oriented Plan.

Opening the meeting, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Dr Mahbubul Haq, said the target of the Sixth Plan was welfare of the common man and evolution of an Islamic economic order, based on the principle of equality of opportunity to all. In order to make Pakistan a truly Islamic welfare state, more importance was being attached to social services in the new Plan, he added.

In this regard, Dr Haq said, education and health would get high allocations. In these sectors the focus of attention would be Masjid schools and rural and Basic Health Centres. At the same time, steps would be taken to improve the quality of education at the higher level and better services in the existing hospitals. The Deputy Chairman further said that it was also under consideration to impose a nominal tuition fee in educational institutions and a service fee in hospitals.

Another prominent feature of the Plan was a more active role for the private sector in all fields of economy, Dr Haq added.

In the housing sector, the Government would take the responsibility of providing auxiliary services and house-building would

mainly be entrusted to individuals and the private sector.

To improve communication and infrastructure, road length will be more than doubled during the next Plan. Private sector would be invited to build new roads.

Dr Haq also proposed that all 45,000 villages should be electrified. He said at present when only 3,000 villages are electrified they are consuming ten per cent of the total electricity produced, and when all villages are electrified, they would consume only 20 per cent, keeping in view the additional production of electricity during the next Plan period.

The Plan envisages an increase in electricity and other energy resources of 10 per cent per annum.

In the field of agriculture, efforts would be made to produce an export surplus in vegetables, fruit and poultry for which there is a vast market in the Middle East.

Industries in the next Plan would mostly be steel and agro-based and ten new industrial estates would be established, the Deputy Chairman added.

Efforts would also be made to ensure a balance in regional development. In this regard drinking water supply, agricultural and mineral development programmes would be undertaken in Baluchistan, Dr Haq concluded.

The Adviser to the President on Internal Trade, Shaikh Ishrat Ali, pointed out that there was need to rationalise income tax and bank rates, which in certain cases have proved detrimental to the growth of economy. Political stability and a balanced labour policy were two other pre-requisites for economic development, he added.

He also stressed the need for simplification of procedures and preferential treatment for cottage industry and small traders.

Mr Hamid D. Habib, Adviser on Foreign Trade underlined the importance of plugging the wastage of scarce resources.

Other Presidential Advisers who attended the meeting included:

Begum Viqarun Nisa Noon, Adviser on Tourism; Dr Mohammad Afzal, Adviser on Higher Education; Dr (Mrs) Attiya Inayatullah, Adviser on Population Welfare; Mr M.P. Bhandara, Adviser on Minority Affairs; Dr M.A. Kazi, Adviser on Science and Technology; Mr Zakria Kamdar, Adviser on Haj Affairs and Maulana Abdullah Khulji, Adviser on Religious Affairs.

CSO: 4600/344

PRIORITY AREAS OF SIXTH PLAN DISCUSSED

Karachi ECONOMIC REVIEW in English Jan 83 pp 9-11

[Article by Aftab Ahmed]

[Text] *Sixth Plan is likely to face several odds which deserve realistic consideration by our planners. The Sixth Plan should reflect the bitter realities of life otherwise plan or no plan the time continues to roll by.*

The completion of fiscal year 1982-83 marks the end of the fifth five-year plan. The nation prepares for embarking upon the sixth five-year plan from July, 1983. It will take some time to review the performance of the economy for the full plan-period. Yet the broad economic indicators show that while manufacturing sector has performed well, the other important commodity producing sector of agriculture, after achieving a growth rate of 7% during 1979-80, appears to be stagnating. GNP growth rate during the first four years of the present plan upto 1981-82 has averaged more than 5% (at constant prices). Growth rate in manufacturing output has averaged about 10% during the same period at constant prices. But the most disquieting feature of the growth process, which is eclipsing the brighter part, is the widening current account balance of payments deficits (i.e., from Rs. 4.84 billion in 1977-78 to Rs. 12.06 billion during 1981-82). Participation of the private sector in industrial development, too, has been far from satisfactory during the first 4 years of the plan period. The ratio of private industrial investment to GNP which had fallen steeply during 1970s to a low level of 1.3% has not recovered at all. The conspicuous absence of private sector will become more pronounced with the completion of large industrial projects in public sector like Pakistan Steel etc., and accompanying steep decline in industrial invest-

ment during next few years unless private sector re-enters in a big way.

The identification of priority areas of the sixth five-year plan at macro and micro levels needs a deeper sectoral and sub-sectoral analysis of the economy. The fifth five-year plan seems to have miserably failed in making a break-through in the development of infrastructure. Availability of power for industry and agriculture has not improved. Roads and communication links have not succeeded in bridging the gaps between the supplying areas and consuming areas. Only one out of 20 villages is connected with road. Industrial estates have been established but being devoid of infrastructural facilities, entrepreneurs continue to keep themselves away. The same is true of the export processing zone.

The fifth plan had estimated a marginal rate of savings of 25% and a capital output ratio of 3.8:1. In view of the past performance and what was logically acceptable, the marginal rate of savings of 25% stipulated in the plan was much too high, something that has seldom been achieved and never sustained. A capital-output ratio of 3.8:1 invariably meant industrialization through imported technology required for fixed investment and for raw materials. The net result of promoting growth process on borrowed resources is manifesting in form of huge deficits in balance of payment and mounting foreign debts and debt-servicing charges. External outstanding debt stands at over \$ 9.50 billion. We are eroding 40% of our exports earnings on debt servicing.

Net transfer of foreign assistance which was 90% of total disbursements in sixties has dwindled to 30% in 1981-82 and in a few years time we will reach at a stage where the entire foreign assistance received will be returned for debt servicing.

It must be remembered that a relatively small reduction in capital-output ratio makes a high growth rate feasible even at a substantially lower rate of marginal savings and from own resources. Sixth five year plan should address itself very seriously to stop the process of mortgaging the economy to the donor countries. The present state economic situation amounts to balancing oneself on the edge of a sharp knife.

While the importance of exports cannot be undermined in view of self-reliance, we cannot, however, ignore the bulging imports. Annual value of imports have jumped from Rs. 27.81 billion in 1977-78 to Rs.

58.56 billion in 1981-82. The composition of imports shows that about 20% of total imports are agricultural in nature including items like edible oil, tea, pulses and milk. Making a break-through in exports is subject to several constraints like protectionist policies of importing foreign countries, adverse terms of trade, exchange rate problems, and prevailing recession in the world markets. These are external factors on which we have very little control. Import-substitution, however, is comparatively easier because all the factors are in our control. Potentials of agricultural sector have not been really exploited. If we can increase the supplies and minimize the farm and distribution losses of selected agricultural commodities, we can perhaps substitute the imports of agricultural commodities to the extent of 75%. According to one estimate annually about 5.73 million metric tons of grains and cash crops are lost valued at Rs. 11.49 billion due to crop-diseases and inadequate storage facilities. Again promotion of agro-industries based on utilization of agricultural raw materials and agro-wastes can generate a process of economic revolution in the country. Sixth plan can mark agricultural sector as a key sector to lay solid foundation of a growth process which can also be sustained in the long-run.

Size of the fifth plan was Rs. 215 billion with private sector's share of Rs. 52 billion. Amount earmarked for industrial investment was Rs. 39.00 billion for the plan-period which is reported to have been implemented to the extent of 85% in terms of industrial sanctions. Some 400 units in different sub-sectors were sanctioned for implementation. According to one estimate only 30% of the sanctioned units are in the different stages of implementation. The sponsors of the units which are being implemented are either large industrial groups or under joint foreign collaboration like Galadharis, Faraon, Fauji Foundation and private local group of industrialists (cement, beverage, fertilizer, textiles and others). The real local investor of small and medium means continues to keep away from the mainstream of industrial investment. The economy is already suffering from the course of excess capacity and under-utilization of capacities. Sixth plan should focus its attention on devising policy measures of improving and consolidation of the existing capacities rather on adding new capacities with severe sectoral imbalances.

To sum-up, therefore, sixth plan is likely to face

several odds which deserve realistic consideration by our planners. The planning process itself came into existence for allocating scarce resources to best possible alternatives. In affluent economies no planning is required. In Pakistan, plan or no plan, the time continues to roll-by. It is hoped that sixth plan reflects bitter realities of our economy. The nation does not need a plan which says "every thing is fine". We need a plan which aims at removing the imbalances in our planning process and its execution. We feel that private sector's effective participation in growth process, break-through in infrastructural facilities, self-reliance through a low capital-output ratio and a reasonable MPS, import-substitution through agriculture-led growth and industrialization through better capacity utilization are some of the major areas which should be considered by our planners in the sixth five-year plan. - *Aftab Ahmed*

CSO: 4600/350

GHAFFAR KHAN SAYS SITUATION IN COUNTRY WORSENING

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 4

[Text]

PESHAWAR, Feb 15: Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, now touring the southern districts of NWFP, has said situation similar to that created in Lebanon before Israeli invasion is being created in Pakistan.

Addressing students, lawyers and his followers in Dera Ismail Khan, he said it was his duty to warn the nation against the dangerous situation developing in this region. Pakistan, he said, was his motherland and he wanted his people to be saved from destruction as had happened in neighbouring Afghanistan. "I do not want that Pakistani nation, specially the Pukhtoons of NWFP, should suffer the same fate which has been the destiny of the Afghan nation," he said.

He held the United States and its "hunchmen" responsible for Russian intervention in Afghanistan because "the Americans had tried to encircle Russia". He was of the view that revolution in Afghanistan was not originated by Russia and turned it a military revolution. Conditions in Afghanistan had been worsening owing to American interference, he added.

The Red Shirt leader deplored the restrictions on the Press, in Pakistan as well as ban on speaking truth and serving the nation. He cited his own example and said, "I have been repeatedly stopped from contacting my own people whom I want to serve despite old age."

LOSS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES IN AZAD KASHMIR ASSAILED

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Jan 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Azad Kashmir...Basis for Experimentation"]

[Text] In Azad Kashmir a military officer has been removed as president and a retired military officer has been appointed in his place. Brig Gen Mohammad Hayat, the present president of Azad Kashmir is being sent back to the army after being promoted to the rank of major general, and Maj Gen (retd) Abdurrahman Khan has been appointed president in his place. Brig Gen Mohammad Hayat, having completed the constitutional term of 5 full years as a president and after having ruled in this capacity, will resume his military duties. Consequently, Maj Gen (retd) Abdurrahman Khan, after military service extending over a period of 35 years, has been nominated for this post. Before this he served as president of Azad Kashmir for short periods on two previous occasions.

The way Brig Gen Mohammad Hayat has been promoted to a higher rank along with a change in his post, the way tribute was paid for his services in the press statement issued by the secretariat of the chief martial law administrator and the way the president of Pakistan applauded him for his untiring efforts in the execution of his duties, all give the impression that Brig Gen Mohammad Hayat served Azad Kashmir and its people in a fitting manner. But the facts give a different picture altogether and the overall situation in Azad Kashmir today is much more grievous. This is the first time that the entire political leadership in Azad Kashmir is behind bars. The people of the state are deprived of their democratic rights, freedom of thought and expression and civil liberties. The same is true for well-known Kashmiris who sacrificed their whole lives for the integration of the state with Pakistan and who still talk of free occupied Kashmir from Indian domination and bringing it into the fold of Pakistan. Over the past 5 years, not only were the Kashmiri people deprived of their democratic rights and civil liberties and the treaties Pakistan signed with the political leaders violated, but even Pakistanis were made victims of repressive laws in force in the state. Recently, when a group of Pakistani lawyers tried to hold a convention in Azad Kashmir, they were mistreated. During this period, no political leader from Pakistan dared go to Kashmir to assess the situation there. The excesses committed by the present government in Azad Kashmir are also reflected in the observation made by the newly designated president, who said that his government would not hold politicians in jail without cause. He also said that he is not in favor of unnecessary

arrests. The newly designated president of Azad Kashmir also said that his appointment is in accordance with the treaty signed by the president of Pakistan and the parliamentary parties in Azad Kashmir. The spokesman for the four-party alliance, Sardar Sawar Khan, while welcoming this change, said that with the transfer of Brig Gen Mohammad Hayat Khan, only one of their demands was fulfilled and that their demand for the restoration of democracy and repeal of the black law remained to be fulfilled. The statements made by the president-designate and the spokesman of the four--party alliance confirm the regrettable facts we pointed out earlier. We are surprised about why, in light of these facts, it was considered necessary to pay tribute to the outgoing president in addition to promoting him to a higher rank.

The overall situation in Azad Kashmir has been a source of concern for the patriotic political parties and people of Pakistan. This state is named Azad Kashmir which means 'free' Kashmir, yet within its borders not only do freedom of thought and expression, democracy, an independent judiciary, a constitution and government formed by the elected representatives of the country not exist but civil liberties also are nonexistent. The entire leadership, demanding a referendum for the people of occupied Kashmir, has been deprived of all political rights and is confined to jails. In the past, if a representative government was formed at all it was forced to resign through unconstitutional means within a few months, and the experiments in administering law and order through nominated representatives continued. The people of Azad Kashmir, so disheartened and distressed as a result of the continuous attacks on their democratic and political rights, have now started shouting slogans considered unimaginable a few years earlier.

If we are really serious about liberating the Kashmir people from the domination of Indian usurpers and are sincere in our desire to help them achieve their birthright of independence, then our treatment of the Kashmiri people should be quite different from what it is now or has been in the past. We shall have to make Azad Kashmir an exemplary state whose people are blessed with all democratic and political rights and civil liberties, where elections are held regularly in accordance with the state laws so that the people can form a government of their own choice and be prosperous. Without doing this or winning over their hearts it will not only be impossible to win over the hearts of the people of occupied Kashmir but it will also be difficult to maintain the happiness of the people of Azad Kashmir living with us. It is regrettable to note that Pakistan's present martial law regime completely disregarded national interests even with respect to the Kashmir issue and over the past 5 years has done serious damage to the cause of Kashmir. As with Pakistan, it will be quite imprudent to also entangle the people of Azad Kashmir in constitutional and political problems. President Ziaul Haq will have to review the arrangements for Azad Kashmir and devote his fullest attention to restoring democracy in the state at the earliest opportunity. It must be borne in mind that should Pakistan get itself into trouble by continuing to make Azad Kashmir a basis for experimentation, then it will be impossible to undo the harm done.

9315

CSO: 4656/90

PROBLEMS OF EXPATRIATES'S RETURN DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 20 Jan 83 p 14

[Text]

A delegation of the Pakistan Overseas Business Federation, Kuwait, was in Lahore last week and offered the local traders quite a few hints to promote exports besides a useful survey of overseas markets.

Speaking at a reception hosted by the delegation for the President of the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry and a large number of local businessmen, the President of the Federation, Mr. Anwar Chaudhry, spotlighted a generally neglected aspect of the expatriate entrepreneur's predicament. Even when an expatriate has achieved his economic objectives, "discrimination and the stigma of being a second class citizen keeps haunting him. In fact the older he grows, the greater is the longing to go back home."

Expatriate

But it is not easy for an expatriate businessman to return to Pakistan. "Staying abroad the expatriate has become used to a certain measure of security, law and order, physical comforts and a fast pace of life. Back home the situation still remains unchanged. Things considered basic to human existence are still either unavailable or the exclusive preserve of a few. At least in some countries of the West the expatriate has even tasted freedom, equality before the law and a deeper consciousness of his rights, concepts which are still alien to our culture and conditions. A befitting epitaph to this much trumpeted outward movement of manpower could

read — once a expatriate always an expatriate."

Mr. Anwar Chaudhry said Pakistani businessmen had acquired considerable wealth abroad which could be invested in Pakistan. Not even the tip of the vast pool of wealth owned by Pakistanis overseas businessmen had been tapped for productive investment in Pakistan, he said. He regretted that the Government had not taken proper steps to exploit this vast resource. Criticising the continued export of manpower, whereby "we are wilfully denuding ourselves of the only available natural resource," Mr. Chaudhry said, "somebody should think of applying the brakes, in fact reversing the process."

Finally, a proposal was advanced on behalf of the POBF, Kuwait.

The members of the Federation, within a period of six months from the time the proposal is finalised, would put up one million dollars in hard currency, provided a consortium of businessmen of standing could participate with twice that amount in Pakistani rupees. The ratio would be perfectly in line with the accepted practice with regard to foreign investment. With this total initial capital of three million dollars a financial institution should be created, entrusted with the task of planning, financing and even managing small and medium-level industrial units, which the members of this consortium in their individual capacities may plan to establish in Pakistan. This institution will have the capacity to generate

more funds inside and outside Pakistan. It should have an office in Kuwait and one in Pakistan. A committee should be set up to go into the feasibility and details of this proposal. The figure of one million dollars is only in the nature of an initial and experimental commitment. If something worthwhile and profitable comes out of this proposal POBF commitment in terms of foreign capital participation would always match the local commitment in two to one ratio.

Prospects

Talking informally to Pressmen, the members of the delegation regretted that Pakistani exporters were not using current business methods to enter foreign markets. It was true that Pakistani goods were often overpriced, yet the possibilities of raising the level of exports were there. The field that offered the best prospects was that of light and medium engineering goods.

CSO: 4600/350

PIRZADA'S NAME PROPOSED FOR OIC POST

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 15: The Government has decided to present the candidature of Syed Sharfuddin Pirzada the Attorney-General, for the office of the Secretary-General of the Organisation of Islamic Countries which is due to fall vacant in December this year when the term of Mr. Habib Chatti expires.

Pakistan's ambassadors in all the Islamic countries have been informed of this decision and told to discuss Pakistan's candidature with the countries of their respective accreditation, at the highest level if possible.

According to Foreign Office sources, the response so far received from the OIC member countries was highly encouraging, giving Pakistan the hope of getting elected unanimously. There were indications that Bangladesh was also interested in the office, but so far it has not announced any specific name.

Election for the office will be held at the 14th Islamic Foreign Ministers' conference which is tentatively scheduled to be held at

Dhaka sometime in December.

Pakistan's hope for getting elected unanimously rests on, besides factors, the generally accepted principle that the office of the OIC Secretary-General will rotate among the three major geographical regions represented in the OIC — Africa, Middle East and South Asia. Pakistan was a candidate for the office even when the present Secretary-General, Mr. Habib Chatti, was elected in 1979, but had withdrawn its candidature for the sake of consensus, and Mr. Chatti was elected unanimously. Before him, the office was held by Mr. Karim Gaye of Senegal.

Pakistan, one of the founding members, which has been playing a leading role since the inception of OIC has not so far had the privilege of serving as the Organisation's Secretary-General. The majority of the member countries are learnt to have assured Pakistan that they considered it appropriate that the next incumbent should be from Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/349

NATION'S EFFORTS IN REFUGEE CARE LAUDED

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 6

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 15: Lord Cranborne, M.P. and Chairman of the Afghan Support Committee, has said that the 2.8 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan constitute the biggest single concentration of refugees in the world, and Pakistan deserves praise from the world community for looking after them so well in spite of its limited resources.

According to a message received from London, addressing the Pakistan Society in the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons on Feb 9, Lord Cranborne said that during his recent visit to the Afghan refugee camps in the North-West Frontier province and Baluchistan, he was profoundly impressed by the lack of friction between the refugees and the local population and the good administration of the refugee camps by the Pakistan authorities.

He noted that of the total expenditure incurred on the upkeep of the 2.8 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan was meeting nearly half of it from its own resources, while the rest comes from UNHCR, WFP, UNICEF and aid from friendly governments, including 12 million pounds from UK, and charitable foreign organisations such as the Red Cross and the Save the Children Fund in UK.

Lord Cranborne said that he and his colleagues in a 3-member dele-

gation of the Afghan Support Committee of UK, who visited Pakistan recently, were provided necessary facilities to visit all the Afghan refugee camps, meet the representatives of the refugees, see the facilities such as tents, water supply, medical care and educational arrangements, provided by the Pakistan authorities for the Afghan refugees in more than 300 tentage villages in NWFP and Baluchistan.

He paid rich tributes to President Zia-ul-Haq and his Government for dealing with the refugee problem with immense tact and compassion in a humanitarian spirit.

Lord Cranborne hoped that the efforts of the UN and of the Pakistan Government to seek a political solution of the Afghanistan problem so that the Soviets would vacate Afghanistan and its independence would be restored and the refugees would return home safely, would succeed but he did not expect such an outcome in the near future.

Lord Cranborne expressed profound praise for the self-respect and morale of the Afghan refugees whom he met in great numbers. He urged increase in the pressure from the Western democracies and Third World Nations on the USSR to leave Afghanistan, greater help and more assistance from the world community including UK for the Afghan refugees in Pakistan —

ULEMA SLATE WOMEN'S RALLY

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 9

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 15: Maulana Mohammad Malik Kandhalvi, a member of Majlis-i-Shoora, has said that taking out of a procession by women against the Islamic Law of Evidence is a tragic incident, in the history of a country like Pakistan which was achieved solely for the implementation of Islamic system.

Maulana Kandhalvi who is also Sheikh-ul-Hadith, Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore, in a statement, condemned the protest march, and said that this act on part of only a few women had injured the feelings of all men and women having firm faith in Islam.

He regretted that in a country for which the Quaid-i-Azam visualised a complete Islamic code of life, and for the creation of which hundreds and thousands of Muslims laid down their lives, a few female lawyers and representatives of women's liberation organisations had tried to harm the spirit of the Pakistan Movement. He said that it was regrettable on part of these women who were really West-oriented.

Maulana Kandhalvi appealed to the authorities to fully investigate the incident and expose the anti-Islamic elements behind this protest to create hurdles in the way of Islamisation of society.

Other ulema

Ulema of various schools of thought, in a joint Press statement here on Monday said: "God has determined the testimony of two women as equal to that of one man in the Islamic Jurisprudence. The demonstration by a few women in a bid to have testimony of a woman and a man declared equal in the

eye of Islamic law, is tantamount to deriding Islamic injunctions."

They said if a man or a woman tried to ridicule Islamic commands in this way he or she should get exemplary punishment as laid down by Islam.

The Ulema who issued the joint statement include Maulana Mohammad Yousuf, Khatib-i-Azam Bahawalpur; Maulana Mohammad Hanif, Mohtamim, Madrasa Khairul Madaras, Multan; Maulana Pir Saifullah Khalid, Khatib, Jamia Masjid Makki, Islamabad; Maulana Mufti Abdul Qadir, Sheikhul Hadis, Jamia Islamia, Multan; and Maulana Mufti Abdur Rehman, Sargodha.

Maulana Mohammad Hussein Hazarwi, a leader of Jamaat-i-Mubtalighien Tawheed-wa-Sunnat, Pakistan, has also condemned the taking out of the procession against Islamic Law of Evidence.

Advocate's views

Begum Nasim Chaudhry, an advocate and a member of District Council, Multan, has strongly condemned the recent protest march by women against the Islamic Law of Evidence which, she said, was done at the behest of anti-Islam elements for the achievement of their sinister political designs.

In a statement issued here on Tuesday, she said that the lady members of the legal profession should seek redress of their grievances through dialogue and peaceful democratic means instead of taking law in their own hands.

Begum Nasim Chaudhry said the Islamic Law of Evidence was very clear and absolute.

POLICE ACTION AGAINST WOMEN TERMED DEPLORABLE

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 9

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE revulsion caused by Saturday's police action against a group of demonstrating women in Lahore has made itself clearly and unmistakably known and felt. This was only to be expected because whatever might be the official explanation in terms of the whys and wherefores of it, the high-handed method adopted by the police in dealing with the situation was wholly uncalled for. Indeed, it was abhorrent to subject a small band of protesting women to lathicharge and teargassing in the name of law enforcement. It would be utterly naive to suggest that an assembly of 180 women — all educated and with very distinctive family connections and backgrounds — could have posed a grave threat to the public order or was capable of unruly conduct, so that the minions of the law had no option but to press the panic button of a crackdown on them and disperse and isolate them by an indiscreet resort to force.

It is not necessary to agree with the point of view of the protesting ladies on the proposed amendments to the Evidence Act to uphold their right to make their views on the issue known. All one knows — and needs to know in the present

case — is that the group of 180 ladies involved in Saturday's incident wanted to present a memorandum, expressing their dissent on the amendments in question, to the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. In doing so, they reportedly formed themselves into a placard-carrying procession and intended to march in files of twos to the High Court building to deliver the memorandum. When resisted, the processionists are said to have assured the administrative functionaries present on the spot that they would march the small distance to the High Court building peacefully. To make sure, some women constables and officers could have accompanied the processionists along the route — to prevent any lapses. From all accounts, it was simply not a situation that should have been allowed to take the ugly form it eventually did — as a result of the indiscretion and warped spirit and approach displayed by the law enforcers. The whole sordid episode of baton wielding and teargassing could have been avoided if, instead of being obsessed with what at best might be termed a technical violation of the law, the authorities had exercised dis-

cretion and displayed good sense in allowing the small procession of ladies to pass peacefully. What is more regrettable is that in dealing with the situation, even the traditional respect and considerations our society has for women were abandoned as if these values have no place or relevance in the so-called impersonal domain of law enforcement.

The inquiry instituted by the Provincial Government into the occurrence is reassuring insofar as it is intended to fix individual responsibility for the excesses committed against the women processionists on Saturday. But the matter has a wider aspect which must be considered seriously and at the appropriate level of decision-making. This involves issues of rights and interests of the different groups of citizens and the method to be adopted in enforcing legislative and other changes vitally affecting these. The right approach in dealing with such matters is to show a healthy respect for the relevant sections of opinion so that whatever measures are adopted inspire confidence. The other important issue is the basic norms and consistency that must govern law enforcement. Dissatisfaction is bound to arise if it is seen that one situation is being handled in a rough-and-ready manner, while another is being soft-paddled to the extent of making it look like a case of connivance.

CSO: 4600/348

WOMEN STAGE RALLY IN KARACHI

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 14

[Text]

A group of women activists staged a 100-minute demonstration at M.A. Jinnah Road opposite the Quaid-i-Azam Mazar yesterday to protest against the lathi-charge in Lahore on a women's rally on Saturday.

They carried banners and placards in support of their demands. One of the placards said, "We are women and not half-human"

There was scuffles between the demonstrators and the lady police constables. Lady police constables tried to push the slogans chanting women aside to clear the road for vehicular traffic but the demonstrators managed to reach the main road. Consequently, the police sealed this section of the road from Guru Mandar and the traffic remained suspended for about half an hour.

A large number of political workers, lawyers and students who had gathered there but the police using their canes beat them back. Some people pelted stones on the police. These people were also chased away upto Guru Mandar

All the three SDPOs of the area, Deputy Commissioner (East) and SDM Civil Lines, assisted by two women magistrates remained present throughout the demonstration.

A group of lawyers, headed by the President of the Karachi Bar Association, Mr Abdul Hafeez Lakho, made several attempts to mediate between the police and the demonstrators. In the process, a lawyer, Mr Aqil Lodhi, was taken away by armed policemen. This provoked the demonstrators who staged a sit-in and demanded his

immediate release. Finally, on the assurance of Mr Lakho and other lawyers the authorities agreed to release Mr Lodhi only after the demonstrators had dispersed peacefully.

The women were allowed to cross the M.A. Jinnah Road and they finally dispersed peacefully. The authorities later let off Mr Aqil Lodhi.

During the demonstration, the police encircled the women agitators and did not allow the male supporters to have communication with them. The policemen frequently verified the identity cards of newsmen covering the event.

At one stage a demonstrator, Mrs Noor Jehan Somooro, fainted and collapsed. She was taken across the road by her colleagues and some policemen where she regained consciousness.

The demonstrators shouted slogans in support of their demands which included revival of democratic process, restoration of fundamental rights and civil liberties, and holding of general elections.

A prominent woman activist of Lahore, Begum Nasim Shamim Ashraf Malik, also joined the rally and addressed the gathering. Other leaders of the women's organisations also spoke on the occasion.

Campus rally

Some girl students of University of Karachi, belonging to the United Students' Movement, yesterday held a protest march at the Campus to condemn the Lahore incident.

They displayed placards and raised slogans against the action taken by Police against the women of Lahore.

BAR ASSOCIATION BACKS WOMEN'S CAUSE

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 14

[Text]

The Karachi Bar Association has viewed with concern the police excesses on a women's procession at Lahore and has expressed solidarity with the women's cause.

It has inter-alia demanded judicial inquiry by a High Court Judge, suspension of concerned officials and deterrent punishment to them.

An emergency meeting of the KBA held yesterday under the presidentship of Mr Abdul Hafeez Lakho at the City Courts compound, adopted a unanimous resolution saying that the struggle for the right of the "oppressed women" was inextricably related to the demand for the lifting of Martial Law and restoration of the 1973 Constitution.

The meeting was addressed, among others, by Mr Farooq H. Naik, General Secretary of the KBA; Begum Rashida Patel and Mrs. Shahida Jamil who "expressed shock" at the lathi-charge and tear-gassing of the peaceful demonstration of women and said that the authorities had, in fact, ridiculed the nation undergoing the process of Islamisation.

The resolution pointed out that the women processionists were on their way to the Lahore High Court to present to the Chief Justice the point of view on the Law of Evidence on behalf of various "Anjuman" in writing.

It said that the present situation indicated that the government was creating awkward situations by reviving the "agreed issues" and by putting off the general elections.

However, the people would not hesitate to render any sacrifice to protect their rights, the resolution said and assured women of the fullest support in their struggle and

endorsed their demands in full.

The resolution demanded that to check recurrence of such ugly incidents a judicial inquiry by a High Court Judge be conducted, the concerned officials should be immediately suspended and after the findings, the guilty should be punished.

Till the lawyers had dispersed, the Police remained on the alert outside the Bar premises.

Women forum

Meanwhile, the Women's Action Forum (Karachi Circle) has in a Press statement condemned the police accesses on the women in Lahore, and paid tributes to those who had the courage of their conviction to protest against the proposed Law of Evidence.

"They have set a great example for all women and men to resist any move to deprive them of their fundamental rights. Their demonstration is a demonstration for justice, the attack on them is an attack on justice", the statement said.

It appealed to the "supporters of justice to speak boldly against any and every instance of practiced injustice and proposed injustices".

The Association of Business, Professional and Agricultural Women in a separate Press release expressed "great concern at the mishandling" of women's procession in Lahore, and wondered why women of Pakistan should be discriminated against.

It requested the President to intervene in the matter and form a commission comprising of outstanding male and female lawyers, and Ulema to consider in depth the Law of Evidence, Qisas and Divat Ordinance.

WOMEN'S BODY CRITICIZES PROPOSED LAW OF EVIDENCE

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 16

[Text]

The Women's Action Forum has taken strong exception to the proposed law of evidence now coming up for debate in the Majlis-i-Shoora, proposing to equate evidence of two women with one man.

In a Press statement, the Forum said the proposed law would have grave implications for women and their status and role in society.

The statement said that not only was this law discriminatory but it also found no support from any Quranic injunction.

The statement said: "The Holy Quran addresses equally both men and women and lays down principles of equality. The Holy Prophet said 'they (Muslims) equal as the teeth on a comb. There is no claim of merit of an Arab over a non-Arab, or of a white over a black person, or of a male over a female. Only God-fearing people merit preference.

"The Holy Quran has prescribed duties and obligations on both men and women, the fulfilment of which leads to equal rewards for both, and the violations to equal punishments. The principle of equality be-

tween believing men and women is thus clearly established.

"The most important witness ever given in Islamic history was that of Hazrat Khadija, who was the first to testify to the truth of the Holy Prophet's revelation. It was also on the testimony of a single woman, Hazrat Aisha, that so many of the authentic traditions of the Holy Prophet have been passed on to us.

"Nowhere in the Holy Quran is a single woman disqualified from bearing testimony. The only Ayer that specifically mentions the evidence of one man and two women is found in Sura Al Baqr, and is related to business transactions only. Even here, men and women are seen as equal witnesses, the role of the second woman being only that of a reminder and not as a primary witness.

"Any move to introduce such a law is, therefore, entirely without justification — it would expose women to injustices and leave them entirely unprotected from any offence committed against them. —

GIRLS' IJT CONDEMNS BEATING OF WOMEN BY POLICE

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 12

[Text] LAHORE, Feb. 15--Islami Jamiat Talebat, a wing of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, today condemned the lathicharge on women's procession in Lahore recently, and demanded an inquiry into the incident.

Addressing a Press conference at the Jamaat office on Queen's Road, the burqa-clad students, however, said the issue of the rights of women was not debatable as there were Islamic injunctions in this regard. But, at the same time, they said a referendum could be held on the subject if some people had doubts.

Miss Kausar Firdaus, Nazim-i-Aala, Islami Jamiat Talebat, in her written statement, alleged that the women's procession in Lahore was politically-motivated. She said that an inquiry should also be held into this aspect of the matter. She claimed that the majority of women in Pakistan were with the Islami Jamiat Talebat, and warned that the girl students of the Jamiat would also come out on roads to stage "positive protest demonstration: if, "instigation" continued.

Women in Lahore also reacted today to the reported statements on the rights of women. In this connection, Mrs. Asma Jahangir, advocate, in a statement issued to the Press, referred to the role played by women in the Pakistan Movement. She said women in Pakistan were determined not to allow unscrupulous elements to exploit the religion for their selfish motives.

She said the Lahore women processionists had participated in the Nizam-i-Mustafa movement whereas the self-styled Islamic scholars gave no sacrifice for the religion.

In a sparate statement, Mrs. Syeda Abida Hussain, chairman of the District Council, Jhang, and also a member of the Punjab Council, said the majority of women in Pakistan shared the views of those women who demonstrated in Lahore recently against the law of evidence. These women had sought inspiration from Islamic traditions, she added.

PPI adds: Miss Najma Anwar, a leader of Students Alliance, has appealed to the Punjab University administration and the Government to stop Islami Jamiat Tulaba workers from harassing girl students.

MRD TO OBSERVE 'PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE' DAY

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 14

[Text]

The MRD's Central Executive Committee at its meeting in Karachi yesterday decided to observe Thursday (March 24) as the day of "Prisoners of Conscience" with a view to "mobilising public opinion for achieving the release of all political detenus, under-trial and convicted prisoners".

The meeting, which was held at the residence of Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, was presided over by Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, convener of the MRD for the current month and Chairman of the defunct Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi.

Those present were Secretary-General of the MRD Khwaja Khairuddin, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Haji Ghulam Mohammad Bilore and Mr Abid Zuberi (NDP); Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mr Farooq Leghari and Maulana Ehtramul Haq Thanvi (PPP); Mr Musheer Ahmad Pesh Imam (Tehrik-i-Istiqal); Mr Fatehyab Ali Khan Mazdoor-Kisan Party); Mr Iqbal Hyder and Mr Alamdar Haider (Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi); Mr Mush-taq Mirza and Mr Mohammad Din Malik (PDP); and Qari Sher Afzal and Maulana Abdul Razzak (JUT).

Earlier, Mr Jatoi gave a lunch for Mr Wali Khan, which was attended among others by newspaper editors.

The MRD Executive Committee

reviewed the situation in the country. Mr Wali Khan, according to party sources, briefed the members about the "critical conditions" prevailing in the NWFP.

Mr Farooq Leghari, Secretary-General of the defunct PPP, apprised the members of the problems of people in the Punjab.

It was stressed that the MRD be made "more effective and organised at all levels" and seek cooperation from other organisations believing in democracy and the rule of law.

Appeal

The MRD Executive Committee, meanwhile, issued its appeal to Ulema and people to settle amicably, in the name of Islamic unity and brotherhood, the sectarian issue resulting from the unfortunate incident of sacrilege in Godhra Camp, New Karachi.

The appeal is signed by the leaders of the eight-party MRD, and through it the Committee said that by fanning sectarian susceptibilities the unity of the country and people has been put at stake. It reminded that the Ulema of both sects had in the past rendered women services in the cause of Islam and Pakistan and, therefore, it was now the bounden duty of all to preserve Islamic unity and to consolidate Pakistan.

USHR COLLECTIONS TO BEGIN FROM MARCH 15

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 12

[Text] The Federal Government has notified to the Provincial Governments about the collection of Ushr from March 15 next, Sind Secretary for Social Welfare, Zakat and Ushr and Minorities Affairs, Mr S. M. Mutahir, said yesterday.

Addressing a radio Press conference, he said the Central Zakat Council has already finalised the rules and procedure for collection of Ushr.

On receipt of these rules and procedures, he said, the Sind Zakat Council will work out the modalities for Ushr collection in the Province, he said.

Collection of Ushr would be entrusted to the Zakat Committees at various levels, he stated.

Training

Training of officials including Deputy Commissioners and Zakat Committee Chairmen and members has already started, while a manual of procedure and rules will be ready soon.

He indicated the possibility of realising about Rs 350 to Rs 400 million of Ushr every year in the Province. It would roughly be four or five times more than the revenue collection in the province, he felt.

As for collection, he said the farmers would be asked to file returns on voluntary basis, while patwaris would be given commission for collection of Ushr.

Social Welfare

Answering a question, Mr Mutahir said schemes for setting up three juvenile delinquent centres and five women hostels have been prepared for the next Five-Year Plan.

Juvenile delinquent centres function under the Home Department but should come under Social Welfare Department, he said.

The three juvenile centres are proposed to be set up at Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur, while women hostels are being planned to be set up at each district headquarters.

LACK OF FACILITIES IN INDUSTRIAL AREA DEPLORED

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

The Manghopir (SITE) Association of Trade and Industry has expressed the view that the shortage of water, gas and electricity, and inadequate telephone and telex facilities are hampering industrial progress in Karachi.

A panel of representatives of industries, addressing a news conference at Hotel Intercontinental yesterday, said that the poor infrastructure facilities, particularly in SITE, with over 1,500 industrial units, was acting as a deterrent to any fresh investment.

Mr S.H.M. Zaidi, Dr M. Haroon Siddiqui, Mr Nazim F. Haji and Mr Tariq M. Amin, who were on the panel, said that deteriorating condition of essential services had resulted in decline in production, financial losses and under-utilisation of manpower. Eventually, the consumers would have to bear the burden of increasing cost of production, they added.

To quote an example, they said, the SITE was getting four million gallons of water and the Association was promised additional two million gallons with the completion of the Hub Dam project. But so far the quantum of supplies had remained unchanged.

They claimed that a pharmaceutical company had paid Rs 375,000 to the water tankers in one year to meet the shortage, and another

factory, manufacturing batteries, had spent Rs 400,000.

Electricity

Electricity, they pointed out, remained an acute problem and the recent fuel adjustment charges, levied by the KESC, had raised the tariffs for Karachi industries by over 100 per cent.

According to them, a textile mill lost 1600 man-hour in December last year and 250 meters of cloth per shift per day on account of power and gas shortage. A re-rolling mill suffered losses of over one million rupees, and the financial losses of a vegetable oil company were to the extent of Rs 2.13 million.

The fuel re-adjustment charges, they said, had been fixed at 79 paisa per unit in Karachi, and in the rest of the country the supply was maintained by WAPDA at only 16 paisa.

They maintained that during the last two years, no NOC had been issued by the Federal Government for setting up a new industrial unit in SITE.

They did not favour the idea of importing generators to meet power shortage as their operation was uneconomical. But they admitted that quite a few generators had already been imported.

MORE FUNDS FOR RESEARCH URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 14: The high-level conference on science and technology today recommended increase in funds for scientific research, establishment of new research institutes and creation of environment conducive to the scientists in the country.

The 3-day conference, was presided over by the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Dr. Mahbubul Haq and attended by top Pakistani scientists from the country and abroad, including noble laureate, Prof. Abdus Salam.

The conference recommended priority for the areas neglected in past like energy, bio-technology and micro-electronics and creation of research centres in these fields.

The conference also pointed out that the research in building, highway, hydrology, animal husbandry, industrial designing oceanography and arid zones studies should also be given due attention. These are likely to have great impact on the economy of the country, the delegates of the conference thought.

The conference gave special attention to the establishment of a national centre for basic sciences and high technology to be run by the consortium of all the universities of Pakistan. The centre will be capable to satisfy the research requirements of the Pakistani scientist, in which scientists from abroad could also work with the collaboration of the local experts.

This centre may attract international centres to work here under the umbrella of the United Nations.

He said that in the operational plan for the next year ideas, guidance will be taken from the recommendations of the conference.

He said that we may not be able to work on all the recommendations of the conference during 1983-84, but he assured that efforts will be made to follow these recommendations according to their spirit, and our national priorities in the next five years. Dr Mahbubul Haq said that we cannot afford pessimism and we have to be optimistic for achieving the goal of national development in the fields of high technology and scientific research.

Dr Abdus Salam, the Noble laureate, on the occasion said that during last 25 years it was for the first time that he could see the positive and responsive attitude of any Government towards scientific research and development.

The conference recommended that all Federal and provincial research institutes should have linkages with one or more universities. The joint operation of such institutes should be through consortia consisting of universities, research council and other appropriate scientific agencies. The institute will be located wherever possible on or near the campuses of the universities concerned. Their directors could be drawn from university staff or recruited from outside.

In the operation of institutes, they shall enjoy complete administrative and scientific autonomy. As far as their budgets are concerned they will receive bulk allocations from the Ministry concerned.

These linkages and affiliation with the universities (with joint staff) will guarantee the availability of the facilities of the institutes for the universities and for post-graduate research which would be

recognized by the universities as requisite for the award of the appropriate degrees.

All national research institutes, existing or new, will be attached to the appropriate research councils and if there is no such councils then to the National Science Council. In order to avoid proliferation of administrative overheads, the councils will have a minimum staff.
APP

CSO: 4600/348

INDIA, COUNTRY TO EXTEND HEALTH COOPERATION

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 4

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 14: Prof. Jarbi, Advisor to the President for Health and Special Education, who returned from India, said here on Sunday that India and Pakistan will extend co-operation in the field of health and special education.

He said that in the proposed Joint Commission of two countries the cooperation in the field of health and special education for rehabilitation of disabled will be also included. A sub-committee will be appointed to work out the details of the possible cooperation of two countries in these fields, he added.

In this connection, he said, an Indian health delegation will also visit Pakistan in the near future which will be headed by the Director of the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Children Development, New Delhi.

The Advisor, who led a 11 member official delegation of Pakistan for a week-long visit to In-

dia, said that their visit gave them opportunities to exchange expertise and information with the Indians in the field of health and both countries will benefit from the experiences of each other.

While giving his impressions about President Zia's visit, he said that the last brief visit of the President of Pakistan to India has been highly useful for the bilateral relations and it is hoped that the next visit at the NAM conference will bring both countries still closer to each other.

Dr. Jarbi, who is also coordinator-in-chief of the Accelerated Health Programme, attended the first international conference on "Elements of Health Diseases", discussed the health programmes of India with the members of Indian National Institute of Public Cooperation and exchanged views on the rehabilitation of handicapped children and the special education of disabled.—PPI.

CSO: 4600/348

LOW LITERACY: NEGLECT OF EDUCATION CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 15 Feb 83 p 9

[Editorial]

[Text]

IN THIS season of rosy promises about how the Sixth Plan will take care of the previous lapses in our national planning, we have some tragic facts about the state of literacy in the country. Though there was little reason to expect otherwise, the figures dispensed by the officiating Secretary of Education, Sind, tend to take the gloss off promises that relate specifically to the education sector. The provincial official told a radio news conference the other day that the literacy rate in the country had registered a downward trend during the last ten years, particularly in the rural areas and among women. In the rural areas, it fell from 27.5 per cent in 1972 to 20.8 per cent in the case of males. The backslide for females is even more striking — from 5.8 per cent to 3.8 per cent. The average literacy percentage in Sind was given as 28.2, compared to 24.5 in Punjab, 14.3 in the NWFP and just 8.2 in Baluchistan. In 1972, the Sind figure was 30.2 per cent. However, the rate of literacy remained stable in urban areas of Sind at just above 38 per cent. This should enhance the loss suffered in the rural areas. Now these figures may only provide a somewhat rough estimation of the situation on the ground, not taking into account the standards used

to measure literacy and not counting the possible relapse of the official literates into the pervasive darkness of illiteracy. But what is definite is the failure of the schemes and plans made to enlarge the literacy base, whether by increasing enrolment in primary schools or through adult literacy campaigns. Of course, the provincial official recounted measures now in progress to "contain the situation". He referred to the 1982-83 ADP and resorted to the usual practice of narrating figures about the new mosque, mohalla and regular primary schools being opened. He also offered hopes for a formidable recovery during the Sixth Plan.

But the unfortunate fact is that the education policies pursued by successive governments have never recognised the people's right to education. The most vital of nation-building departments has always been assigned a low priority. Education's share in budgetary allocations has always been a scanty one, the rhetoric of government leaders notwithstanding. Furthermore, the sub-sector of primary education has always been worse off. The feudal stranglehold on the rural poor continues to be very strong, so that a majority of them has not been in a posi-

tion to press the demand for the opening of primary schools. The rate of growth in literacy, compared to the rate of growth in our population, invites attention to a vast increase in the size of the illiterate population. The percentage was 16 in 1951 and in thirty years it increased only to 25. Education gets less than the minimum of five per cent of the GNP recommended by UNESCO and the World Bank and even the small allocations made to the education sector have been invested in building an inverted pyramid, with higher education getting a higher priority. It has been reported that from 1977-78 to 1981-82, development expenditure on university education went up by 229 per cent while the allocation for primary education rose by only 61 per cent. This elitist approach has been highly detrimental to the interests of the broad masses of the people. As long as feudalism reigns and social stratification in villages is pro-

tected, freedom that begins with education will continue to be denied to the rural masses. This shows that the cause of education is not to be promoted in isolation. It must be part of a well-conceived plan of social renovation. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission now talks about the need for structural changes and reordering of priorities. He has promised more resources for the primary sector in education. But what he is now saying has long been evident in terms of reason and logic. Why literacy still remains so low is obviously not because of ignorance about the value of education as the primary national investment. Above all else, the cause of mass literacy must elicit a firm political commitment on the part of the rulers. This missing element must be supplied if we are to be able to rescue an overwhelming majority of our population from the lower depths of ignorance and social inertia.

CSO: 4600/348

PEOPLES' LOVE OF CONSUMER GOODS DESCRIBED

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 Magazine p 1

[Article by Ghazi Salahuddin]

[Text]

WE ARE learning to flaunt our affluence almost as a tourist attraction. At least in Karachi, it can atone for the cultural and recreational deprivation. Hospitality in any middle-class fortress of glass can be far more exciting for a visitor than desolate Clifton or the dismal museum. A guided tour through our gilded, made-in-Japan lives will be highly educative for those who see us as a shadowy figure in Gunnar Myrdal's "Asian Drama" which, if you remember, was just "an inquiry into the poverty of nations."

How we earn our wealth and how we spend it is another national game in which we have excelled our neighbours. Our VCRs can do as well as Imran Khan, or even better. We can topple them over with the pace that our new cars represent. We are superior in our cravings and our appetite. We are superior in our consumption.

Acquisitive society

But what this almost insatiable hunger for material goods and the sense of glory in being wasteful have done to us is not to be seriously probed. Any suggestion that

this halo of affluence could be artificial and not a genuine expression of the health of our society and our economy is summarily brushed aside by those who live in the shadow of the establishment.

It would appear that our planners and the high priests of the ruling elite find great satisfaction in the shaping of this ferociously acquisitive society. There has been some evidence in this direction. In any case, the game cannot be played without somebody making the rules and acting as referee. There has to be official sanction for the wholesale induction of imported playthings in our society.

The standard of living that has now been prescribed for our rising middle-class has been legitimised by general approbation and unrestrained emulation. Society ensures a certain conformity and the trap is set for all of us.

What this compulsion means and how it has become an antithesis of the officially dispensed moral injunctions is the real story. It affects people in their daily lives, yielding a harvest of sin and greed and mental sickness. The rat race has acquired the character of a free-for-all.

So well

Rizqi-Halal: The near impossibility of living within honest means, if the established standards have to be maintained, is easily understood. As the elitist approach

guides policy formation, a private car has become a necessity for any respectable existence. Sending children to private schools, since Government schools are becoming veritable dungeons breeding despair, is also a compulsion. The rents are high and like kitchen expenses could equal or exceed the entire salary of a coveted white-collar job. Not to have colour television is a stigma. And so on.

The inability to belong to the class that can afford all this will leave you with little respect or social stature. Austerity and simplicity and world-forsaking spirituality, have the odium of failure. There must be many, in every society who will sell their soul to the devil in pursuit of wealth and power. The difference here is that secure hiding places for men committed to some personal vision or ideals are being ravaged by the monster of commercialism.

However, the intriguing question is how do so many manage to live so well. Tolstoy said something about every happy family being alike and every unhappy family being unhappy in its own way. It is the same in this case. Every rich family presents a variation on a theme. Here are stories no Ashfaq Ahmad will be allowed to delineate on television. And the stories, despite appearances, are not all happy ones.

The simple fact is that for the salaried people, additional income is of crucial importance, whether it comes from dishonesty and graft, or inheritance or a working wife or a family member in the Middle East or simple, after-hours drudgery.

An instructive exercise would be to chart out the life of a very respectable salaried person who must make ends meet without any additional help or fruits of past investments in real estate.

Take a senior college lecturer — if you are willing to assign him any status in society. Take his entire income and budget it for him, even providing that he trusts in God and keeps his bank account in the red, sans savings of any kind. Where will you get a house for him and at what rent?

Which school will his children go to?

Will you give him a car?

Will he buy books?

Will he carry wedding gifts for his close friends and relatives?

Will he be able to entertain

occasionally?

Will he have Television in his house, watching ice-cream commercials with his children?

What about clothes?

Should he ever deserve a vacation with his family?

Are there any gadgets in his kitchen?

Does he listen to music?

And if he is teaching history or literature, do you think he does not know what is happening to him?

Strangely, such an exercise will be tricky even in the case of the indomitable bureaucrats. We know what salaries are. We also know what the average middle-class standard of living is. Not all of them come from landed gentry. Not all of them have perquisites that come with specific postings or assignments.

Vulgar display

People who are in business make a vulgar display of their wealth and it is equally surprising how they can do it, if you know the tax laws. One knows of entrepreneurs whose ledgers speak of sustained losses but who dutifully go to Europe every summer. Their houses present concrete evidence, if it were needed, of their dealings.

All this is so well known that to point it out would appear to be frivolous and childish. Isn't corruption, it might be argued, rampant in all developing countries, the necessary price traditional societies pay in their search for modernisation? Similarly, the vindication of corruption by those who indulge in it is also made to be logical. There can be some profound formulations in defence of the prevalent corrupt practices.

But where is all this leading us? Is there some saving grace, in terms of national advancement? Does the ability to earn money also manifest itself in productive enterprises? This should naturally call for a serious analysis of the nature of the economy and social structure we have in this country.

The experts we have tell us we have done remarkably well. It is this rationale that sanctions a certain pride in our affluence. If the layman has his doubts, rooted in shortages and rising prices, he can be overwhelmed with statistics.

Much of the conspicuous consumption is attributed to home circumstances and the fact that home

remittances are frittered away in wasteful consumption is a major indicator of our sense of direction. It is a simple equation. Our most talented and skilled people have been bartered away for VCRs and cassette recorders and lollipops. Liberal baggage rules allow our markets to be flooded with imported goods. But manpower export is too complex an issue to be discussed in passing. Its social cost is phenomenal and is only marginally recognised. As time passes, this cost will rise as an overpowering reality.

If this affluence is largely a facade, what lies on the back of it? Obviously, the dark areas are not easily noticed. Perhaps the beggars can be explained with the argument that there is more charity now. Yet the human stories of distress and social injustice one confronts in everyday life are legion, if only one cares to look closely. There are slums without basic utilities and schools and hospitals. In Karachi they number, officially, more than 350.

At a higher level, one can find statistics of literacy, of the reach of the health care system, of the percentage of population left without potable water supply. One can also look at newspaper circulation, the reading habits, the state of our education, the quality of our arts and the standards of excellence in intellectual pursuits.

There must be measures to judge the well-being and inner strength of a society other than the number of cars seen on the streets. One could select a list of social indicators to determine the drift. Why is crime rising? Why has there been such a drastic increase in drug addiction? What has led to the massive induction of firearms? Incidents of violence show the flowering of deviant behaviour. In past two years, four students were killed with firearms at the Karachi University campus. Isn't this an entirely new

development?

Affluent people can be expected to be hard working and pragmatic. Our work ethics deserve special attention. Everywhere, you notice a lack of initiative, an absence of commitment. People seem convinced, even if wrongly, that diligence and dedication don't pay. Since a large number of people have visibly become rich in a very short time, the search for quick gains has caused the epidemic of white-collar crime which has not been explored.

Affluent it may be but what kind of society is this? In her "Patterns of Culture," Ruth Benedict describes three primitive societies: the Pueblo (Zuni), Indians of the American southwest, the people of the island of Dobu in the Pacific and Kwakiutl Indians of the northwest coast of America.

The Pueblo Indians are depicted as a peaceable, cooperative society in which no one wishes to be thought a great man and the ideal is to be a good fellow. In general, emotion is subdued. While there are considerable variations in economic status, there is little display of economic power and even less of political power.

The Dobus, by contrast, are pictured as a society of paranoids. Dobuan economic life is built on share practice in inter-island trading, on an intense feeling for property rights and on a hope of getting something for nothing through theft, magic and fraud.

The third society, the Kwakiutl, is also intensely rivalrous. This rivalry consists primarily in conspicuous consumption, typified by feasts at which chiefs outdo each other in providing food and in burning up the blankets and sheets of copper which are the main counters of wealth in the society. Sometimes even a house of canoe is sent up in flames in a final bid for glory.

Which of these three patterns do you think our society is closest to?

PROFESSORS TO ASSIST IN GAZETTEERS PREPARATION

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Feb 10: Over 100 professors from various colleges in the Punjab have been selected to assist the Deputy Commissioners in the preparation of the first post-Independence Gazetteers.

Faisalabad district has been marked for producing a model gazetteer by June this year. The completion of district gazetteers by all the deputy commissioners in the province would, however, take more than six months.

According to official sources a panel of professors had been associated with the district panels already working on the programme. The professors have been picked up from the departments of History, Economics, English, Geography and Statistics.

The panels are presently engaged in compiling reports on the chapter — "Socio-Economic As-

pects of the Districts since 1947".

The Board of Revenue has circulated a set of 63 questionnaires to the deputy commissioners to obtain information from various central and provincial Government departments, autonomous and semi-autonomous bodies, and other important private agencies.

It may be mentioned that after Independence the idea of revision of District Gazetteers was first taken up in 1952 but in the wake of the dissolution of One-Unit the work was suspended.

The gazetteers would contain the facts and figures relating to demands, requirements and dimensions of the life-style and heritage of the people. The gazetteers would help the planners in the future development of any particular area, the sources added.

CSO: 4600/346

FARMERS VOICE CONCERN OVER DIESEL RATE INCREASES

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 8

[Text] SIALKOT Feb 10: The Executive Councillor of Anjuman-i-Kashtkaran-i-Punjab, Syed Iqbal Ahmed Shah, expressed great concern over increase in rates of diesel oil, tractors and fertilisers.

Talking to newsmen, he said, today that day-to-day increase in the rates of commodities used for boosting per acre yeield, was badly affecting the plans of the farmers and they were considering to stop agricultural business, he said, if the prices enhanced recently were not withdrawn forthwith.

The Councillor said that increase in the prices should be made at the time of Budget announcement only. The farmers were fed up with mini-budgets, time and again, during the year, he further said.

The Government had increased the price of fertiliser by Rs 10 per bag in April 83, while it had already raised its price by Rs 16 per bag in December last year. Similarly, the price of tractor in November 82, was Rs 96,000 but it was increased to Rs 99,000 in December '82. That is only within a month. Its price was again being increased in the near future, the Councillor said.

The cultivators who were trying their utmost to make the country self-sufficient in foodgrains were disappointed by the policies of the Government. He said the Government could not do without increasing the prices it should also increase the prices of foodgrains in the same proportion. He demanded immediate withdrawal of increase in the prices of fertilizers, diesel oil, and tractors, and other agricultural implements.

CSO: 4600/346

SHORTAGE OF GAS DISPUTED

Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 9

[Text]

For the past two years Pakistan also has been facing energy shortage, mostly in winter because of inadequate water to run hydel stations. There was some recourse to loadshedding but there was no nervousness. But this year we are experiencing a new phenomenon — shortage of gas supply. Gas was the sheet anchor of our energy source. Gas was said to be in abundance in Pakistan. A few years back there were suggestions of exporting gas. One newly found gas well was kept sealed as it was considered that the then supply was quite enough. Only last year an L.N.G. (liquid natural gas) supply station's opening ceremony was performed in Karachi with great fanfare. A vigorous propaganda was launched that if our vehicles use LNG in place of petrol or diesel it will result in saving a lot of foreign exchange.

But today while 8 or 9 wells with proved gas reserves are lying idle the nation is facing its scarcity. The cement industries are being directed to use furnace oil in place of gas, as if furnace oil was cheaper than gas. If our sugar mills are asked to use bagasse in place of gas, there is no harm. But why they were not asked to do the same earlier. It has been suggested that our industries should observe two days' holiday in a week. It is very easy to make plans like these, but we should be farsighted enough to foresee the dangerous consequences. This may result in scaling down our exports and earnings of foreign exchange. This may result in local scarcity of consumer goods and rise in prices. This may result in labour disaffection and public resentment.

According to the "Economic Survey" of 1981-82 issued by the Govt at the time of last Budget, gas position was given as under:

1. Gas supplies 42% of our energy, oil 35% and hydel 18.5%.

2. Consumption of gas in 1980-81 was 7.428 billion c.metres, out of which domestic and commercial was 9%, fertiliser 25% and cement 10%.

3. Consumption of gas in 1981-82 (9 months) was 5.795 billion c.metres which comes to 8.765 billion cubic metres for the whole year. Out of this domestic and commercial users consumed 10%, fertiliser 26% and cement 10%.

4. During the first nine months of 1981-82 about 80,000 new connections were provided bringing the total to 7.75 lakhs.

According to the State Bank of Pakistan Report for 1982, the growth rate of gas production was given as under: 75-76 2%, 76-77 9.8%, 77-78 3.6%, 78-79 8.6%, 79-80 19.1%, 80-81 14.1%, 81-82 8.1%.

According to Economic Review, Annual 1982, Sept-Oct the great leap forward as to demand, i.e. consumption, started right from 1975. Please take, for example the Karachi area.

1975 consumers: 96,172 and consumption: 843,948 million cubic metres, 1981 consumers: 2,92,269 and consumption: 1,736,888 million cubic metres.

It can be marked that the rise in consumption during six years (1975 to 1981) was 106%. Nearly the same was the position in the Punjab, NWFP and the interior of Sind.

Side by side, we should again look at the SBP's Report of 1982 showing the growth rate of production during those years. Every well-

wisher of Pakistan will have a sigh of grief that when the graph of consumption was going up by leaps and bounds the growth rate of production was limping. In 1975-76 it was only 2%, in 77-78 it was 3.6% but the saddest part of the story, in 81-82, when the energy shortage had struck us, it was only 8.1%. Besides, a new pipeline has been constructed up to Quetta since October 1981 (It must have been planned much earlier). This line will supply gas, en route, to Jacobabad, Jhatpat, Dera Murad, Jamali, Sibi, Bibi Nani, Mach, Kolpur, Darwaza and Sairab. The addition of Quetta line will apparently aggravate our gas situation further. Even then the growth of gas production during 1981-82 was only 8.1%.

As per Economic Review, Annual, Sept-Oct, 1982, 950 million c.ft. was then being daily produced from the gas fields of Sui, Mari, Sari-Hundi and associate gas from the oil fields of Potwar. Nine more fields are lying dormant awaiting exploitation viz Zin, Uch, Khairpur, Kandhkot, Mazarani, Kothar, Dhodak and Radho. The first five gas fields were discovered during the fifties. According to latest announcements Pirkoh field is being developed and is expected to start supplying 40 million c.ft. daily from December 1983 and 72 million c.ft. daily from December 1984. Thus it may be noted that 8 gas fields, with proven reserves, are lying unexploited since long, whose total reserves according to rough estimates, could be 8 to 9 trillion c.ft. or about 230.00 billion cubic metres.

After the scarcity of gas has hit us, explanations are being given as to the reasons for short supplies.

But most of the explanations are half-hearted and ill-informed. The Gas Corporation has nothing to explain. It has failed to project a proper picture before the country. Mr. Ghulam Ishaque has been wrongly informed when he said that the demand in the country for gas now is 978 million c.ft. daily, while the supply is 669 million c.ft. per day, leaving a balance of 309 million c.ft. daily.

Let us compare the supply figure given by Mr. Ghulam Ishaque with the production figure given by the State Bank of Pakistan Report of 1982 wherein production for 81-82 has been shown as 9.3 billion cubic metres. If daily production of 669 million c.ft. is added up it comes to 6.9767 billion cubic metres for the year. This shows a wide difference of about 25%. As to consumption the figure of 978 million c.ft. daily means about 10.2 billion c.metres yearly. But according to Economic Survey of 81-82 the yearly consumption (by deduction) up to June 1982 was 8.7 billion c.metres.

Now should we take it that wrong reports were submitted to the Finance Minister or that consumers are being readied for lesser consumption so that gas may be freely supplied to Baluchistan? However there remains a big question mark as to why so many gas wells have been left undeveloped for the past 20-25 years. When consumption was rising and miles after miles of new pipelines (for consumption) were being sunk why nobody in the big gas administration or the planning cell thought about the tapping of dormant wells before the crisis started knocking at our doors.

AEC AHMAD SHAH

Karachi

TALKS REPORTED CONTINUING WITH INDIA ON PRISONERS

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 p 6

[Excerpt]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 9: Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed the Majlis-i-Shoora that the issue of Pakistani prisoners in India and Indian prisoners in Pakistan was under negotiation between the two countries.

He was answering a question during the "question hour" here on Tuesday morning. He said that the protocol on consular access signed between the two countries on Nov 2 last at New Delhi for the exchange of information in respect of prisoners and to provide consular access to them on a reciprocal basis would ease some of the hardships faced by the detainees.

The Minister said that the protocol was also expected to facilitate their prompt release and repatriation on completion of sentences.

He told the House that the lists of civilian prisoners were exchanged on Dec 23 last, during Pakistan

Foreign Secretary's visit to India.

Additional lists of detainees were exchanged recently during Secretary Natwar Singh's visit to Pakistan last month, he added.

The Foreign Minister further stated that according to the information so far collected, there were 208 Pakistani prisoners in India and 232 Indian prisoners in Pakistan.

Meanwhile, he said, the process of identification and determination of national status was being expedited which will follow exchange of prisoners. He said it has also been agreed that for the purposes of the protocol on consular access, lists of prisoners, detainees etc. should be exchanged every three months on a regular basis. The Minister was answering a question by Shahzada Saeed-ur-Rashid Mahmood Abbasi.

CSO: 4600/345

PLAN SUGGESTED FOR TAPPING NEW ENERGY SOURCES

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 p 8

[Text]

A 10-point programme to tap new energy sources and to make better use of the existing ones was advocated by Mr Salim Mehmod, Chairman, Pakistan Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO), in a talk on "current trends in development of energy alternatives and options for Pakistan" at the Karachi University yesterday.

The programme includes:

- Development of solar and wind energy; — setting up bio-gas plants, specially in rural areas; — utilising waste materials (such as rice husk, as done in China) for producing electricity; — development of new gas fields; — restricted consumption of natural gas for burning, heating or electricity generation and its profitable use in the petrochemical industry; — maximum use of hydel potential; — extensive afforestation and strict conservation of forests; — a far greater use of coal for generating electricity, and establishment of coal-gasification and liquefaction plants; — more nuclear power plants; and — a comprehensive energy conservation campaign on all fronts.

Suggestions for better utilisation of energy in industrial and power-generating units included co-location of steam power electricity-generation stations and textile plants, whereby low-pressure steam discharged from the former could be piped to the latter, where it would be used to run machinery; and utilisation of high-pressure steam of textile plant's boiler to first drive an electricity-producing turbine before it carried out its main function of driving the cloth-finishing machines.

He pointed out that towards the end of this century a serious energy crunch would beset both developing countries like Pakistan, and also the developed nations.

Those nations who fail to respond adequately to this coming challenge will seriously jeopardise not only their agricultural and industrial development but their very survival as a free nation, he added.

There was no time to be lost in launching an all-out campaign with the clear-cut objective of developing and harnessing indigenous energy resources to the fullest, he added.

CSO: 4600/345

SUFFERINGS OF PRISONERS UNDER TRIAL HIGHLIGHTED

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 p 9

[Text]

The plight of under-trials has been highlighted by the Movement for the Release of Prisoners and Reform of Prisons in Pakistan.

In a Press statement, its founder-president, Mr Umer Hayat Niazi, said there were an unknown number of persons languishing in jails all over the country because of delays in disposal of their cases in the courts.

The cases pertained to two main categories viz under-trials who could not provide bond/surety to be enlarged on bail, and (ii) those involved in non-bailable offences.

Mostly the delay in the adjudication of the cases was because of the mounting work-load of the courts.

For this purpose, he urged the Government to increase the strength of the courts at all levels and streamline their working.

To a considerable extent, he said, the problem was attributable to the outmoded legal system and unethical practices on the part of a section of the lawyers' fraternity.

It was common knowledge that the lawyers did not appear before the courts on account of their own

heavy engagements and also because one or the other party to the case was interested in an adjournment.

In both cases, the blame must be accepted by the legal community, Mr. Umer Hayat Niazi said. If the lawyers had too many cases, they should not accept new cases and forward such matters to their less busy colleagues.

In the other case, he said, it was contrary to all norms of legal practice to seek adjournment motions on made-up grounds.

He said it was strange that the bar associations did not seriously take up these fundamental problems of the profession.

He appealed to the senior members of the profession to take up this matter for the sake of hundreds of "innocent under-trials" in the country and their deprived families and children.

Of course, there must be a very large number of under-trials whose detention period has far exceeded the maximum jail term provided in the law for the offences they had been accused of, he concluded.

CSO: 4600/345

QAZI COURTS ISSUE DEBATED IN SHOORA

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Feb 83 p 12

[Article by Anis Mirza]

[Excerpt]

Corruption and high-handedness of the police was a recurring theme in the Majlis when the House took up consideration of the 1981 Kazi Court Draft Ordinance and the report of the Pakistan Law Commission as reported by the Select Committee.

Initiating the discussion Saifullah Khan of Rahimyar Khan warned that no Islamic law could succeed unless the outmoded 18th century Police Act and the law-enforcing agents were reformed.

Lahore lawyer Iqbal Ahmed Khan and Faisalabad's Shafiq Ahmed Butt made similar observations. While speaking in the Kazi Court debate Iqbal Ahmed Chauhan argued that no speedy or inexpensive justice was possible unless the bureaucratic machinery of the British Raj was changed. "Separate the judiciary from the executive, change the police laws and crack down on corruption. Then only can you have speedy inexpensive justice," he added.

Jhelum lawyer Chaudhri Mohammed Altaf started his speech in English but Chairman Khwaja Safdar asked him to speak in Urdu. After quoting from Samuel Johnson, Chaudhri Altaf lashed out against the lassitude of the magistrates. He charged that the Kazi Courts draft was a poor copy of the Criminal Procedure Code and the Civil Procedure Code. Raising his tone Chaudhri Altaf said, "where is the question of Islam and Kufr. This is a purely procedural law. Improve the conduct of your judges and magistrates. First let them working like

full-time civil servants".

Two rather animated speeches were delivered by senior Karachi lawyer Obaidur Rahman and Tharparkar's Muzaffar Husain Shah. Mr Obaidur Rahman called the Kazi Courts Draft Ordinance "a bold and concrete step towards reformation of the present day legal system". He said the initial draft prepared by bureaucrats was opposed by the country's lawyers. The present draft referred to the Law Commission and the Select Committee, headed by eminent Pindi lawyer Mahmood Ahmed Minto, had several important features: separation of the judiciary from the executive, control of the superior judiciary, dispensation of quick inexpensive justice through lawyers and in Fiqah cases through Alims (learned religious cases) and protection of right to appeal and revision in superior courts.

Mr Muzaffar Husain Shah said for the first time there was a move to codify Islamic laws. He said justice was delayed because of the magnitude of the workload. "If you want justice of quality then appoint full-time judicial officers. Today your magistrates are busy in cricket, football and hockey matches. If there is a strike in site or demonstration they have to rush to the scene."

Applause burst in the Shoora when Mr Muzaffar Husain added: "If you want Islamic justice then appoint honest judicial officers, who have a knowledge of both Fiqah as well as common law. It is not possible for one man to do justice to civil, family and criminal jurisdiction cases."

EXPORT-ORIENTED INDUSTRIAL UNITS TO GET UNINTERRUPTED POWER

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by Shaheen Sehbal]

[Text]

The Federal Government has agreed to exempt export-oriented industries from the current gas and power load-shedding, informed sources told "Dawn".

They said the Ministry of Commerce had already sent directives to WAPDA, KESC and gas transmission and distribution companies to meet the requirements of such industries in full.

The Export Promotion Bureau had taken up the matter with Islamabad on the plea that those industries, including tents and canvas units, guar and gum products, some textiles and garment units, leather goods and others would fail to meet their export commitments if the current gas and power shortages were continued.

In Karachi, the crisis has so far hit the tent exporters the most, since they consume large quantities of gas and power.

However, industry circles expressed doubts whether the KESC or the three gas distribution companies, viz, Karachi Gas, Indus Gas and Sui Northern, would be able to meet the Federal Government directives, at least in Karachi.

They said it was absolutely impossible to keep the supply of gas or power to the export-oriented units at the required level while cutting down supplies to neighbouring factories.

"Load-shedding in Karachi is done region and area-wise and if some export-oriented industries fall in a particular area where supply is cut, no one can help it," one official said.

While the power and gas supplying agencies are looking into the Federal Government orders, it is unlikely that the situation could be improved for some selected industries, an informed source said.

The export-oriented industries, too, have no other formula to offer to keep their mills running. One exporter said this could be possible in other parts of Pakistan, but in Karachi there can be no solution to it.

"One way would be that the Government compensate for the losses we suffer due to these shortages," another exporter said. "But this would not compensate for the drop in exports that the country would face."

"The present situation could well provide the planners food for thought. They should now make it compulsory for all export-oriented industries to be in a separate zone so that whenever such problems are faced, at least these industries could be kept running," a business magnate said.

MOTION IN SHOORA SESSION ON INDIA'S 'WAR MACHINE'

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Feb 83 p 12

[Article by Anis Mirza]

[[Excerpt]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 8: They rose like a high tide, one after the other from Punjab's Mian Abdur Rauf to Sind's Hafiz Mohammed Taqi. When the Majlis-i-Shoora got down to business, several members wanted to move adjournment motions on India's growing war machine and thrust towards nuclear weapons and technology. Former Muslim Leaguer, Majlis Chairman Khawaja Mohammed Sattar, in a relaxed mood, since it was a private members day, wanted the members to give cogent and valid reasons for urging a debate.

Mian Abdur Rauf argued that India was rapidly modernising its tank reserve and equipping its forces with missiles and "automatic weapons controlled by radar." Hafiz Mohammad Taqi from Karachi referred to Indian weekly "Samachar's" report about acquisition of T-75 tanks and atomic technology from the Soviet Union. Several other members rose in a chorus and said these developments were causing concern and the Government should take the Majlis into confidence.

Defence Minister Mr Ali Ahmed Talpur rising from the front row, announced that he would like to make a short statement. He said while India's arms build-up was her internal matter, the concern of the people and the Majlis members was a reality about which Government was wholly cognizant and appreciative. He said although Pakistan was small in resources and size, the forces were aware and alert about "developments around the region."

In a loud voice the Defence Minister observed: "Any one who thinks that small countries can be intimidated or bullied might well be making a mistake. A country's strength is not measured by its weaponry alone." A burst of applause resounded across the benches when Mr Ali Ahmed Talpur said that the best and most powerful bastion of strength were the 80 million people of Pakistan. "No one dare cast a covetous eye on this country", the Defence Minister concluded. There was another round of applause.

MEMORIUM FOR MARTYRS DISCUSSED IN SHOORA

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Feb 83 pp 1, 9

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Feb 8: The Majlis-i-Shoora today unanimously adopted a resolution recommending to the Government to immediately build a memoriium in Islamabad in the memory of martyres and those who sacrificed their lives and belongings for the creation of Pakistan.

The resolution moved by Lt-Col. (retd) Sayed Mukhtar Hussain was adopted without any amendments and 13 speakers took part in the discussion on the resolution presented in the Private Membrs Day, today.

Dr Abdul Khaliq and Mr M. Hamza moved an amendment in the resolution which added that the memoriium should be simple and imposing and a centre for the disabled persons should also be set up in it. The amendment was opposed by Chaudhri Ghulam Ahmed Wairen and Mr Tari Khanzada and was dropped.

Another amendment tabled by Haji Saifullah calling for constructing the memoriium with the public fund and launching of a President's Fund for the purpose was also dropped.

Intervening, Lt-Gen. Saeed Qadir, Minister for Production and Railways, pointed out the government was already seized with the matter and a national monument committee was working on it. He suggested that the recommendations of the House may be sent to the Cabinet Secretariat for consideration of the matter.

Speaking on the resolution, Mr Z.A. Suleri supported it fully and maintained that the motion was quite proper. He said that Pakistan was founded on the two-nation theory and innumerable people gave sacrifices for the cause. He said it is a precedent in the lives of the nations that they immortalised the deeds and the memories of those who had built the nations through giving their life blood. He said if this memoriium was built it would be a right step towards right direction.

Mian Naeemur Rehman praised Col. Retd Mukhtar Hussain's initiative to move this resolution and heartily supported it. He said the people in Pakistan were living in prosperity and peace because the martyres gave unmatched sacrifices for laying the foundations of this State. He said that the living traditions left by the martyrs and Ghazis should become the part of the immortal history.

Maulana Saeedur Rehman said that besides reviving the memory of the Shuhda through building the memoriium, the deeds and actions of the great freedom fighters should be preserved and books should be written highlighting the achievements of these martyrs for the cause of Pakistan.

Mr Nawaz Khan Marwat supporting the resolution suggested that this memoriium should be built in Karachi instead of Islamabad as the Father of the Nation was resting in eternal peace in that city and the city was the abode of the major part of the people who left their homes and hearths for the cause of Pakistan.

He maintained that the entire na-

tion should contribute in the building of the memorium and especially the members of this House should actively come forward for completion of this project.

Mr Taj Mohammad Khanzada expressed gratitude to the mover of the motion and asserted that this monument should be constructed in a befitting manners. If the nation could provide funds for the palatial government buildings, the resources must be made available for such a memorium too, he added.

He said that the monument should be built in Islamabad.

Sardar Inayatullah Khan Abbasi said that the mover had represented the aspirations of the nation.

Begum Salma Tasadduq Hussain proposed that apart from the separate building of the monument, the memories of the past should be preserved through paintings and pictures and the manuscripts relating to Pakistan movement should also be preserved in the museum.

CSO: 4600/344

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS INVITE NUSRAT BHUTTO

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Feb 83 p 9

[Article by Yehia Syed]

[Text]

LONDON, Feb 8: Mr. Ron Brown, Labour MP, and Mr. Mohammad Arif, A Pakistan lecturer at a London polytechnique, both claiming themselves as Chairman and convener respectively of the so-called 'Campaign for the restoration of human rights in Pakistan,' managed on Sunday to get their letters published in two Sunday "Heavies", the "Sunday Times" and the "Observer", one criticising President Zia and the other British Home Office.

Labour MP for Leith (Scotland) Mr. Brown condemned MS Marry Ann Weaver for calling President Zia "basically a nice guy" in her long interview with him published in the "Sunday Times" last week (Jan 30).

In his very critical letter Mr. Brown said "Thatcher and Reagan, of course, are Zia's friends, helping to sustain his police-mans's role for the West with considerable aid, including arms, now that the Shah has gone."

In his letter Mr. Arif criticised the Home Office for not giving one Mr. Abdul Qayum Butt, who claims to be "Deputy Secretary General PPP", political asylum in Britain when he has been "classified as a political refugee by the UN Commissioner for Refugees."

The two gentlemen, who have also recently visited Kabul at the invitation of Babrak Karmal regime, have now invited Begum Nusrat Bhutto to come to London, on behalf of some twenty-five MPS to address them.

CSO: 4600/344

BRIEFS

JATOI BARRED FROM PUNJAB--Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, a leader of the defunct People's Party, was yesterday externed from the Punjab for a period of three months. Mr Jatoi had gone to Lahore from Karachi and he was proposing to proceed to Islamabad today (Wednesday). However, an order under the Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance was served on him yesterday in Lahore. He was taken to Lahore airport and put on a flight to Karachi last evening. He had originally planned to visit Peshawar also, but while in Karachi he was served with an order banning his entry in the NWFP for a period of 90 days. Mr Jatoi criticised restrictions on the movement of politicians. "It is a bad omen for the country", he said last evening. [Karachi DAWN in English 9 Feb 83 p 1]

PAGARO INVITES PPP LEADERS--KHIPRO, Feb 8--Pir Pagaro, President, defunct PML, has said leaders of the defunct People's Party are welcome to the PML fold after tendering apologies for their past misdeeds. Meeting party workers informally at the residence of Haji Alim Ali Qaimkhani here on Monday night, he said the People's Party's era was one of terrorism and fascism. He claimed that "my party is the biggest political party in the country today PPI. [Karachi DAWN in English 9 Feb 83 p 9]

PRESS STAGES WALKOUT--ISLAMABAD, Feb 10--Press correspondents covering the Majlis-i-Shoora, staged a walkout here on Thursday morning, after over a year-long series of harassment and interference by the Security Police in their journalistic duties. Walking out of the Majlis Press Gallery were correspondents of not only the national dailies, but Radio, Television and the Associated Press of Pakistan. The walk-out came shortly after Karachi members Mahmooda Sultana and lawyer Obaidur Rahman rose to move privilege motions against the summoning of DAWN's woman correspondent by the Deputy Superintendent of Police. The DSP and Security staff later imposed restriction on entry of correspondents in the public corridors and lobbies of the Majlis. Besides several Shoora members, the Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Raja Zafar-ul-Haq came into the Press Room, to discuss matters with the correspondents. The Minister promised to look into their grievances. [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 6]

JATOI EXTERNMENT CRITICIZED--LAHORE, Feb 10--Malik Ghulam Jilani, President, defunct Awami League, has criticised the externment from Punjab of Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. In a statement, Malik Jilani brought into focus the failure to specifically define the term political activity. He pointed out that anything

that formed penal offence required precise definition in law. He said days of politics were over in Pakistan and all of 'us' were engaged in moral issues like making a choice between truth and falsehood, between fairness and fraud, lawful and unlawful. [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 8]

SHAH NAWAZ BHUTTO SUMMONED--The Martial Law authorities have directed accused Shah Nawaz Bhutto, s/o late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, to appear before the Special Military Court, MPAs' Hostel, Karachi, within 15 days. In case of failure, he will be tried in absentia for contravention of MLO-No. 6. Earlier, the Artillery Maidan Police registered a case under MLR 31 for allegedly creating disaffection against the Armed Forces. According to a provincial Government handout, 'the accused absconded and is concealing himself to avoid trial' by the Special Military Court. [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 16]

SUPREME COURT ACQUITS BAKHTIAR--RAWALPINDI, Feb 10--A full bench of the Supreme Court, while setting aside the judgement of a special trial court, has acquitted Mr. Yahya Bakhtiar, former Attorney-General of Pakistan of the charges of rigging the 1977 elections. However, the court observed that although rigging was done on a large scale in the constituency in question, the prosecution had failed to establish that rigging was done by the appellant either directly or indirectly or through any other person. The special court, headed by Justice Usman Ali Shah, had on March 31, 1981, sentenced Mr Bakhtiar to five years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of one lakh rupees for rigging the 1977 election while contesting for National Assembly seat from constituency NA-195, Quetta-II. Mr Bakhtiar had filed an appeal in the Supreme Court against his conviction. [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 83 p 18]

PUNJAB BAN ON WALI SLATED--LAHORE, Feb 11--The Secretary-General, National Democratic Party, Punjab, Mr Mohammad Farooq Qureshi, has criticised the ban on the entry of Khan Abdul Wali Khan in the Punjab. In a Press statement here on Thursday, he said that Khan Abdul Wali Khan wanted to go to Karachi on the summons of Special Military Court to appear in the Jam Saqi case as defence witness. [Karachi DAWN in English 12 Feb 83 p 4]

SIALKOT REGION UPLIFT--SIALKOT, Feb 11--Rs. 64.5 million would be spent on various development projects in the district during the current financial year, this was said by the Commissioner, Gujranwala Division, here on Thursday. He said that the present regime was mobilising all its resources for the welfare and development of rural areas. [Karachi DAWN in English 12 Feb 83 p 4]

JOURNALIST'S DETENTION EXTENDED--The period of detention of journalist Irshad Rao and his two colleagues, Mr Zamin Ali Shah and Mr Abdus Saleem, has been further extended by 90 days for the third time. The order was served on them in jail yesterday. Mr Irshad Rao was arrested from his weekly 'Al-Fatah' office on Jan 1, 1981. He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment which he completed on Aug 20, 1982. Since then, he has been served with a detention order, and the 90-day period has been extended thrice. Mr Irshad Rao has been under treatment of Dr Zaki Hasan for nervous tension. Prof. M. Zaheer Khan has also treated him. In view of his failing health, the Amnesty International and other bodies have appealed for his release. [Karachi DAWN in English 16 Feb 83 p 12]

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